A

GENUINE and PARTICULAR

# ACCOUNT

Of the TAKING of

# *CARTHAGENA*

BY THE

# *French* and *Buccaniers*,

In the Year 1697.

Containing,

An exact Relation of that Expedition, from their firſt ſetting out, to their Return to *Breſt*; wherein are deſcrib'd their ſeveral Engagements with the *Engliſh*, in their Paſſage home.

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By the *SIEUR POINTIS*,
Commander in Chief.

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WITH A

PREFACE, giving an Account of the Original of *CARTHAGENA* in 1532, to the preſent time: Alſo an Account of the Climate and Product of that Place, and the Country adjacent.

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" *In* 1585 *it was ſack'd by the Valour of a few* Engliſh, *under* " *the Command of Sir* Francis Drake (in a Reign when the " Publick Good and Honour of *England*, was the chief Buſineſs " at Court) *and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud* " *Enemies, who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad,* " *and our Naval Applications at home.* *See* Pref. p. 2.

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THE

# PREFACE.

*THE City of* Carthagena, *in the* Weſt-Indies (*which now gives Title to a conſiderable Government of the ſame Name, and is reckon'd a Province of* New Granada; *or, according to ſome Writers, of* New Andaluzia; *but by others is annex'd to the* Golden Caſtile) *was begun to be built in the Year* 1532, *by* Peter de Heredia, *and was finiſhed by* Georgio Robledo, *about eight Years after the Foundation was laid.*

*The Situation of its Port was found ſo convenient for the* Spaniſh *Fleets, and ſuch Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of* Santa Martha *and the* Magdalena, *that the Town encreaſed in Wealth, Number of People, ſtately Edifices,*

*and in a Juriſdiction over five or ſix petty Cities, till in the Year* 1585, *it was ſack'd by the Valour of a few* Engliſh, *under the Command of Sir* Francis Drake (in a Reign, when the Publick Good and Honour of *England* was the chief Buſineſs at Court) *and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud* Enemies; *who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad, and our Naval Applications at home.*

*But this City of* Carthagena *received a greater Blow (before it was perfectly repair'd) from five Privateers, led on by a diſguſted* Spaniard, *who burnt the Place to Aſhes, after they had ſurprized the Governor aſleep, and ſeiz'd a mighty Treaſure: Yet, for all this, it rais'd its Head again, number'd above twenty thouſand Inhabitants (whereof four thouſand were* Spaniards, *the reſt* Meſticoes *and Slaves) and improv'd daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the* French *from* Breſt, *and the* Buccaniers *from* Petit

Petit Guaves, *who ſeverally plunder'd it; as is particularly related by Monſieur* De Pointis.

*Into ſuch a fatal Stupidity are a certain People (by Nature brave, formerly Conquerors and Heroes) of late degenerated, either from the ill Influences of their State, or Church, or both; that now they fall a Prey to every Invader, and even to Privateers and Vagabonds: The Cauſes whereof are too manifeſt, and own'd by a judicious and honeſt Writer of their own Country, whoſe Senſe I ſhall here deliver.*

'*Unreaſonable Taxes are multiply'd*
'*and entail'd upon the* Spaniards, *un-*
'*der Pretence of making good Defi-*
'*ciencies and Funds of Intereſt: The*
'*Treaſury grown monſtrous, either by*
'*obſtructing or diverting the Publick*
'*Aliment, and by contracting new*
'*Debts: The Grandees themſelves con-*
'*ſpire to cheat in their ſeveral Sta-*
'*tions, in order to advance or ſupport*
'*their own Extravagancies: The Court*
'*Officers,*

*'Officers, Gabellers, and ſuch Swarms 'of mercenary Vermine are innume- 'rable, draining the very Blood of 'the People: The ſtanding Forces up- 'on Free Quarter, the Shipping ne- 'glected, the Garriſons and Magazines 'very ill ſupply'd, moſt of the Gover- 'nors and Men in Truſt (like ſo many 'Vultures) griping whatever comes 'within the catch of their Talons. 'Trade is diſcourag'd by ſeemingly 'advantagious Loans, by high Cuſtoms, 'Indulto's, and other Impoſts. The 'Church is overgrown with Revenues, 'Inquiſitions and Dominion; all which 'have contributed to impoveriſh and 'deſpirit the Maſs of the Body Poli- 'tick, and to reduce it into the Figure 'we now behold it in, all over Rickets, 'with large Heads and wither'd Limbs, 'for want of a proportionable Circu- 'lation, and a due Adminiſtration.'*

*Theſe Chronical Diſtempers in the* Spaniſh *Governments in* Europe, *have infected the reſt in* America, *where their Weakneſs is diſcover'd upon all Occaſions.*

*Occaſions. Indeed Monſieur* De Pontis *carried twenty times the Force that Sir* Francis Drake, *or the Privateers after him, did; yet conſidering the* Spaniards *had frequent and very early Intelligence of the* French *Preparations, and of their Arrival in the* Weſt-Indies, *methinks their Defence was very languid, and ſcarce credible to one unacquainted with their preſent Conſtitution, which will produce the like Symptoms and bad Effects in any other Nation, that has the Misfortune to ſuck in the ſame Contagions.*

*But to return to* Carthagena, *whoſe Territory is related to be very fruitful, only a little too moiſt by the violent and frequent Rains.*

*The Journals of Sir* Francis Drake's *Voyages commend the Plenty and Variety of Fruits found there; Oranges, Citrons, Limes, Guavo's, ſome Spices and Balſams, eſpecially a ſort of long Pepper, and the Tolu, mentioned by* Carolus Cluſius, Franciſcus Ximenes, John de Laet, Margrave, Hernandes, *and*

*and others, are brought from the adjacent Parts in great Quantities. Gold is waſh'd down by the Torrents from the Mountains, where ſome precious Stones are found. In a Word, the Country is much the ſame with the neighbouring Iſthmus of* Darien, *which has been ſo well deſcribed by Mr.* Ringroſe, *Monſieur* Raveneau de Luſſan, *and more lately by Captain* Dampier, *and Mr.* Wafer, *that nothing more need be ſaid here of this Part of the* Terra Firma.

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AN

Monſieur *DE POINTI's*

# ACCOUNT

OF HIS

# EXPEDITION

TO

# CARTHAGENA,

In the Year, 1697.

THE Deſign I had long ſince form'd, of a Naval Expedition, that might be both honourable and advantageous, was put off from time to time by intervening Accidents, although Monſ. *Pontchartrain* had receiv'd his Majeſty's Approbation of the Project I had the Honour to preſent him; and had, likewiſe, obtained the Ships, Men, and Ammunitions, which I propoſed to take with me.

But at length, the laying up of the Fleet, brought by Count *Chateau Renault* from *Toulon*, leaving all the Marine, in a manner, idle; and the Meaſures I had taken with Treaſurer General *Vanolles*, ſeeming to promiſe a ſufficient Fund for the Expence, there appeared no farther Obſtacles to the Execution of this Enterprize.

Hereupon we propoſed our Deſign to the Publick; which was ſo generally lik'd, and People were ſo forward to bring in their Money, that *Vanolles* was not able to receive it faſt enough; inſomuch, that he fancy'd he ſhould be forced to refuſe ſeveral Perſons, by Reaſon we had agreed upon the Sum, and reſolved not to exceed it.

But the Face of Affairs became ſoon altered; for the Peace being concluded with *Savoy*, made it hop'd, that it would ſuddenly be attended with a General One: And 'twas believed, that if the War ſhould be at an End, before I was under Sail, I ſhould be ordered to the contrary; and ſo the Money employ'd upon our Armament, would be infallibly loſt. And now People were ſo far from offering new Sums, that thoſe who had already engaged in the Deſign, would have been very willing to have withdrawn their Contributions.

I could not inform every Body, that Count *Maurepas*, who was acquainted with the Particulars of our Project, had engaged Monſieur *Pontchartrain*, to ask his Majeſty, what ſhould be done with our Armament, in Caſe the Peace ſhould be agreed upon? And that his Majeſty was pleaſed to Anſwer, that I might go on with it; for, if the Peace ſhould be concluded, he would take Care to re-imburſe the Adventurers. And we were aſſured of this Favour, by an expreſs Article inſerted in the Margin of the Minutes of the Marine Council, that was held upon this Matter: Nevertheleſs, many Perſons conſidering, that the beſt which could happen, would be to receive their Money again, choſe rather to keep it in their Purſes.

And beſides this Prejudice, the ill Succeſs of ſome Attempts that preceded mine, and from which great Matters were expected, diſcouraged the Publick more than the Appearance of an approaching Peace.

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By this means we were obliged to proceed upon the Fund that was already advanced, which was much inferior to what I had propoſed; and this compelled me to leſſen our Preparations, and conſequently weaken the Armament. However, being determined to go thorough with my Undertaking, I reſolved to make uſe of the Advantages which the Court was pleaſed to confer on me, in allowing me ſuch conſiderable Succours. So I returned to *Breſt* in the beginning of *October*, 1696; and to Work we went, with all imaginable Diligence, to fit out our Fleet: But the bad Weather hindered our Careening; ſo that we could not get out of *Breſt*, but lay in that Road 'till the 6th of *January*; from whence my Project was to have ſailed the beginning of the preceeding *November*.

To add to our Misfortune, I was at that time not able to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind that then offered; becauſe I ſtaid for a great Convoy of Arms and Proviſion, that were laden for me at *Rochel*, without which I could not proceed; I had continually expected it for three Months. In the midſt of theſe Perplexities, I underſtood they were at laſt arrived at *Port Lewis*, where they were forced to put in, to avoid a Squadron of the Enemy, that had for ſome time cruiſed upon that Coaſt, and had them in Sight. By this, I found our Naval Preparation upon the very point of miſcarrying; our Proviſions were already much diminiſhed, and the Appearance very great, that the Enemy's Squadron would remain there, and we utterly conſume our Proviſions in the Road of *Breſt*: Upon which I fix'd my Reſolution; which although it ſeemed very hazardous, was yet the only Method that the Poſture of my Affairs would permit me to take: It was to find out my Convoy, and even to diſengage them at the hazard of a Battle: Now, altho'

I ſhould have the beſt of it, yet it could not be without a mighty Inconveniency to me; but I flattered my ſelf, that poſſibly I might not be diſcovered by the Enemy; or, in caſe of meeting with them, get indifferently well off, and refit at *Port Lewis*, and then try to get out; and happen what would, by whatſoever way it ſhould be my Fate to be loſt, I had rather have been ruin'd with our Arms in our Hands, than miſcarry for want of Reſolution, and in a ſhameful Abode there.

Accordingly I had given my Orders to ſail the next Day; at which Time I underſtood by Signals from *Uſhant*, that they deſcribed a very large Fleet. We knew very well, by ſeveral Accounts that there were about Forty *Engliſh* Men of War abroad, with Orders to cruize before *Breſt*, and by all manner of Means to prevent my Paſſage, by which my Departure ſeem'd impoſſible, my Enterprize defeated, and my Misfortune unavoidable. However, I propos'd other Matters to myſelf and kept to my firſt Reſolution, not thinking my Condition much worſe for this News: The little way between *Breſt* and *Port-Lewis*, or the Entrance into the River *Morbian*, of which I had taken particular Care to inform myſelf, that I might ſecure my Retreat into it, gave me ſome Hopes to believe, that I might probably get in thither, before I ſhould be too deeply engag'd in a Battle; and then having once got on Board what the Convoy had brought me, I might by the Favour of the long Nights, get away, without being ſeen by the Enemy, or at the worſt Eſcape a ſmall Danger in a running Fight. So this great Fleet did no more alter my Circumſtances, than if it had been a ſmall Squadron; againſt which, in the Juncture I was in, the Hazard of fighting was as dangerous as with a capital Fleet, my Care being to get away, and proſecute the Buſineſs

ſineſs of my Project. Beſides, if I could get a little before the Enemies, there was no great an Appearance for them either to come eaſily up with me, or that they would be in Condition to purſue me for two thouſand Leagues that I might lead them: I had, Moreover, the Opportunity of ſeparating my Ships in the Night, by ordering them different Courſes to the appointed Rendezvous.

The Governor of *Uſhant* ſent an Expreſs to aſſure me, That he could diſcern forty Men of War, amongſt which were five *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Flags: I received this News at Midnight, and making Uſe of it in a Manner quite different to the Opinion of them that ſent it me, I made the ſailing Signal, and was under Sail by that Time it was Day, it being upon the Seventh of *January*, 1697. I had ſome Days before, ſent my Orders to the Veſſels at *Port Lewis*, to come away immediately, running all Hazards to join me; but to keep ſo near the Shoar, that the Enemies Ships might not dare to approach them, or to avoid their Cannon by running into the Ports that are upon that Coaſt; which are good enough to cover ſuch ſmall Veſſels, as I expected from the Danger of Cruiſers. I had ſent the *Mutine* Frigate, and the *Providence* Brigantine, to convoy them who expected them at *Pennemarc Point*.

We were hardly got out of the *Goulet* when ſhe ſaw the Fleet appear at *Point Raz*, with the ſmall Convoy I had ſent to them; whereupon I came immediately to an Anchor at *Bertheaume*, where I made all the haſte I could to get our Proviſions on Board our Ships and Fly-boats, and by extraordinary Diligence, I was in a Condition of ſailing the next Day.

We were hardly got into the Courſe, when the *Scepter* ſtruck upon a Place, where, according to the Rules of Navigation, there could be no Manner of Danger; after having ſtruck three Times very violently

lently, we thought ſhe was juſt upon ſinking, eſpecially when we ſaw a great many Planks floating upon the Water; at the ſame Time we perceiv'd her to float, and running immediately to the Pumps, we found ſhe did not make one Drop of Water. We could not tell what to think of this Accident, however, it was concluded, that it could not be a Rock ſhe had ſtruck upon, but upon ſome ſunk Veſſel that floated under Water, which being leſs ſtrong than the *Scepter*, had occaſioned us that Alarm by the breaking of her Planks, without any ways prejudicing the *Scepter*. We continued our Courſe, endeavouring to avoid the Enemies: I had ſo regulated myſelf to the Tides, as to be, by the Beginning of the Night, at *Pennemarc Point*; beſides there was no great Probability I ſhould be diſcovered in ſailing ſo little a way, eſpecially by Reaſon of our holding ſo near the Coaſt. I reſolved at the ſame Time to ſteer directly from *Pennemarc* to the Coaſt of *Spain*, which I deſigned to leave to the *Southward*. This Courſe, ſo contrary to what is cuſtomarily taken, to get clear of the Land, which the Enemies muſt know I deſigned; and upon which, moſt probably, they formed their Method of Cruiſing, was the moſt likely Expedient to deceive them. This had the deſired Effect, and the Wind continuing favourable, I firſt made *Cape Ortegal*, and afterwards continued my Courſe toward the Iſland of St. *Domingo*, where I arrived in fifty-five Days; during which there happened nothing remarkable, unleſs it was, that having paſſed the Tropick, we met with *Weſt-South-Weſt* Winds, and conſequently contrary, which is not uſual.

The Pleaſure of arriving at *Cape Francis*, which was that Part of *St. Domingo* that I came to, was migitated by ſeveral Accidents. I underſtood there that Capt. *Deſaugets*, who commanded three Ships

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in thoſe Seas, for whom I had Orders to join with my Squadron, was eight Days before my Arrival ſail'd upon his Return to *France*. I was there likewiſe inform'd by Monſ. *Daunou*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Iſland, that the Succours which Monſ. *Du Caſſe*, Governor of the Coaſt had prepared for me, conſiſted in about four hundred Men, altho' he had Orders to join me with the Strength of the whole Colony.

It is true, that by good Fortune all the Pyrates of thoſe Parts, which are uſually called *Buccaniers*, were met together at that Time: It was thought that I might find a Party of them; but it was no ways to be imagin'd, that I ſhould find them all; for they go out and come in as they pleaſe; conſequently, this Aſſiſtance could not be computed at 14 or 1500 Men, as I was made to believe I ſhould find at St. *Domingo*, neither did they exceed 600. So I was near upon a thouſand Men ſhort of my Account.

The Departure of Capt. *Deſaugets* depriv'd me of a like Number of Men, and two great Ships. Moreover, I was fallen ſhort of two great Ships, and ſeveral Frigates, ſpecified in my firſt Project, by which Means I found myſelf reduc'd to half the Force I propos'd at the Beginning.

I did not think fit to come to an Anchor at the *Cape*, but left there three Frigates, the *Mutine*, the *Avenant*, and the *Marin*, to take in ſuch Forces as might be drawn from thence, and the freſh Proviſions which Commiſſary *Du Tilluel* was to ſupply my Squadron with.

*S. Vandrille*, Commander of the *Marin*, that was ſent two Months before I left *France*, with Orders for Monſ. *Du Caſſe* to have the Forces ready that were appointed for my aſſiſtance, after he had carried his Diſpatches to *Petit Guaves*, ſailed for the Cape, and attended me there.

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In his Paſſage from *France* to St. *Domingo*, he was attacked by an *Engliſh* Ship of 54 Guns, who notwithſtanding her Superiority, was forced to retire with Shame, after a Fight of ſeveral Hours.

*Deſaugets* going for the *Honduras*, before he returned to *France*, had ordered the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, on Board the *Chriſt*, taken from the *Spaniards*, to ſail directly for *France*, with the *Favorite* Frigate, whom I found at the Cape upon his Departure. Theſe two Ships were both mann'd with the *Favorite*'s Crew only, conſequently very weak Men of War; wherefore I reſolved to make uſe of but one of them, to put all the Men into her, and leave the other Ship at *Petit Guaves*. By Virtue of the King's Letter, which I had to *Deſaugets*, and his Squadron, I ordered *La Motte d'Heran* to join me; which he did, and choſe the *Chriſt* that he commanded.

About Eight a Clock, upon the Sixth of *March* I came to an Anchor over-againſt *Exter*, the uſual Reſidence of Monſ. *Du Caſſe*; who came immediately on Board, to adviſe with me about the ſhipping of the Men he was to bring me; and ſeeing that I did not diſſemble neither my Surprize, nor my Trouble at the ſmall Number of Men he had provided for me; he proteſted that he had done all he could, and continually endeavoured to make me have a great Opinion of the good Succeſs of this Attempt; for that the *Buccaniers* were at that Juncture all together, and would every Man of 'em perform Wonders. We agreed that he ſhould go to *Petit Guaves*, and that I would be ready by that time it was Day, to get into the Port: *Du Caſſe* came thither to join me, having a Deſign on Foot which I did not imagine; I brought him the Duplicate of the Order which he had received from St. *Vandrille*, which he did not read when I delivered it to him, by reaſon it was wrote in Cyphers. There

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was added in that Letter, without my Knowledge, that he was to contrive the Means of ſucceeding in an Attempt that was approved by his Majeſty, without damaging the Colony: This Reſtriction did in ſome Meaſure deprive me of the Power of commanding his Forces, ſeeing he had an Opportunity of pretending to keep them for the preſervation of his Colony. He ſaid, that he would not inſiſt upon Terms with me, as being perſwaded that I would have a regard to his Character. I replied, That the greateſt Character he could pretend to, was that of being Captain of a Ship, which he had the Honour to command by his Commiſſion; all that I could do, was, that he ſhould ſerve in that Capacity, according to his Seniority, which did ſubmit him to ſeveral others, who nevertheleſs, would not pretend to concern themſelves with the Forces of his Government; in Relation to whom, I ſhould addreſs myſelf to him, that he was to accept this Propoſition, or not to embark with me, for I had no Orders to compel him.

After refuſing theſe Offers he left me; and thinking no more of him, I was ſurprized to hear, that he took all imaginable Care for what was perſonally neceſſary to him in this Expedition; and that he reported, he would rather come on Board as a private Soldier, than not engage in ſo glorious an Affair. He ſhewed much Courage and Deſire of Glory in his Diſcourſe, and it is Pity, that he afterwards diſcover'd his Reſolution to proceed from Motives, and Intereſts, ſomething leſs generous.

In the mean Time we employ'd our ſelves in getting of Water, Wood, and other Things neceſſary for the Squadron; and to fit up the Veſſels of the *Buccaniers*, which were all unrigg'd, without the Help of the Rigging and Cordage, that I ordered to be delivered them by my Squadron, it would have been impoſſible for them to put to Sea; we

likewiſe diſtributed the Proviſions there, which I had brought for the Forces that were to embark with me, in ſhort, we prepared all things for our Departure. It was then neceſſary to regulate the Pretenſions of the *Buccaniers*, who deſir'd to be aſſured of their Shares of the expected Prizes.

Theſe Free-booters, are, for the moſt Part, compos'd of thoſe that deſert from Ships that come upon the Coaſt: The Advantage they bring to the Governors, protect them againſt the Proſecution of the Law; beſides, all thoſe that are apprehended in *France*, as Vagabonds, or ſuch as can give no Account of themſelves, are ſent to theſe Iſlands, where they are oblig'd to ſerve for three Years. The firſt that gets them, obliges them to work in the Plantations; at the End of the Term of Servitude, ſome Body lends them a Gun, and to Sea they go a *Bucannier-ing*. This Profeſſion hath maintained itſelf a long while by this Sort of Recruits, and ſubſiſt by their Piracies; they were formerly altogether independent, but of late Years they have been reduced under the Government of the Coaſt of *St. Domingo*, they have Commiſſions given them for which they pay the Tenth of all Prizes, and are now called the King's Subjects: For the Governors of *St. Domingo* being enrich'd by them, do mightily extol them for the Damages they do to the *Spaniards*, and endeavour to have it believed that the *Buccaniers* are the Strength and Support of the Colony; whereas, they are, in Effect the Ruin of it: For if ſuch as are conveyed thither, were kept from the Liberty of embracing this infamous Profeſſion, which an Impunity for all ſorts of Crimes renders ſo much beloved, we ſhould not have loſt, in a few Years above ſix thouſand Men, that might have improved and peopled the Colony. And thus indeed they would have been truly the Strength and Support of the Place.

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As to other Matters, altho' they are pleaſed to be counted the King's Subjects, yet it is with ſo much Arrogance, as obliges all thoſe that are deſirous to make Uſe of them, to court them in the moſt flattering Terms. This not being agreeable to my Diſpoſition, and being they were in the Dominions of his Majeſty, and eſteeming them as his Subjects, which the Governor was obliged to deliver to me; I plainly told them, that they ſhould find me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a Companion of their Fortune; that if they made any Difficulties, either to embark or obey, I would certainly burn all their Veſſels, even to the pooreſt Boats, and inevitably deprive them of the Means for ſome Years, if not for ever, of continuing their Depredations.

It was fear'd, that upon theſe Threats they would betake themſelves to the Woods, as being their uſual Retreat upon any Diſſatisfaction: But I knew they apprehended very much the Execution of my Menaces; and moreover, that the Governor who is ſo highly concerned in their Piracies, would omit no ſort of Care to retain them in their Duty.

The Demand they made, of having their Share, in the Diviſion of the Prizes ſecured to them, was very reaſonable; therefore I explained my ſelf in Writing, and cauſed it to be fixed up in ſeveral Places, implying, *That they ſhould, Man for Man, have the ſame Shares of Booty, that was allowed to the Men on Board the King's Ships.*

I was informed of their Cuſtoms, and that of divers ways of dividing the Shares, (which is commonly a very troubleſome Buſineſs); the moſt uſual Method was this, by reckoning by the Number of the Men; for Example: A Veſſel of a hundred Men, hath double the Allowance that is made to another of but Fifty, ſo the reſt in Proportion. I made no manner of delay in the Choice I was to

make; as likewiſe to acquaint them, that I could not meddle with any thing that belonged to the King, the Admiral, and the Undertakers of the Armament. That his Majeſty had been pleaſed to allow to the ſeveral Ships Companies, the Tenth of the Firſt Million, and a Thirtieth part of all the others: And I engaged my ſelf in Writing to give the *Buccaniers* the ſame Terms. *Du Caſſe* told me, that I had taken the eaſieſt Method, deſiring me only to leave with him the Original of that Writing, including the Frigate *Pontchartrain*, commanded by Lieutenant *Mornay*, who deſired to ſerve in the Squadron upon the ſame Conditions that I had granted to the *Buccaniers*: There was likewiſe comprehended, at the Deſires of *Du Caſſe*, a Frigate of St. *Malo*, fitted both for War and Traffick. We ſhall have Occaſion to mention this Writing again, in the Sequel of our Story.

Upon the Eighteenth, all the Ships that I had left at *Cape Francis*, having join'd my Squadron with *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had likewiſe ordered to join me; I made ready on the Nineteenth to go and Anchor at *Cape Tiburon*, being the furtheſt Weſtern Point of St. *Domingo*; the Water there is better and eaſier to be got, than in any other place, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to touch there; beſides, I was very deſirous to get out of Port, to oblige the *Buccaniers* to come on Board, which they ever defer to the laſt Moment; however they at laſt got on Board, ſeeing me at ſome Diſtance, and followed the Squadron as alſo the *Pontchartrain*, which *Du Caſſe* had choſen for himſelf; when on a ſudden, a violent North-wind, which is very extraordinary, and rarely known in this Seaſon, ſcattered not only the *Buccaniers*, but likewiſe all the Ships of my Squadron, inſomuch that I continued alone for above thirty Hours, two Chaloups ſent from the *Scepter*,

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to the aſſiſtance of two *Buccaniers* in danger of ſtranding, not being able to get up with me; but good Weather coming on, we all met upon the 28th in the Road of *Irois*, three Leagues diſtant from *Cape Tiburon*.

Until then I had kept my Deſign ſecret, not being wholly determined on the Matter: *Du Caſſe*, who underſtood by his Letters from Court, that the principal Deſign of the Expedition was upon *Carthagena*, did judge the Execution impoſſible, by Reaſon of the ſeveral Accidents already mention'd, and the ſmall Number of Forces with me. He repreſented unto me, with much Appearance of Reaſon, that according to the laſt Advices from the *Indian* Coaſts, the Galleons muſt be at *Porto Bello*, or upon their Way to *Carthagena*, in order to their Return for *Spain*, that we might reaſonably hope to meet with them, by ſteering that Courſe; and that by our Strength we might reckon ourſelves ſecure of them, altho' we found them in *Porto Bello*, for notwithſtanding the Port is defended by three Caſtles, yet is open enough for us to get in, and poſſeſs ourſelves of thoſe Caſtles, by Means of our Bombs. But I had my Reaſons not to follow this Opinion: The Galleons might as well be at *Carthagena* as at Sea, and I was ſenſible by my own Experience, how uncertain 'tis to meet Ships at Sea, a thing not to depended upon; moreover, it ſeemed plain to me, that the leſs the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to defend themſelves at *Porto Bello*, the leſs Reaſon I had to hope for an Advantage by their Defeat, otherwiſe than in the Honour I might gain; for they would certainly have burnt, or ſunk, their Ships, upon the Approach of ſuch a Squadron as I had the Honour to command, and that Treaſure not loſt to them, muſt have been abſolutely ſo to me, ſince I could not poſſibly have continued long enough there, to get it out of the Water. Theſe

Theſe Conſiderations abſolutely diſſuaded me from going firſt of all to *Porto Bello*, which Voyage would have ſpent my Proviſions, and render'd me uncapable of any other conſiderable Attempt. *Vera Cruz* was a more likely Place; for we were well aſſured, that one of the Flotas had been there ever ſince the Beginning of *September*, and that they could not go away before the Beginning of *May*, therefore I could not miſs meeting with them; moreover, my Forces were ſufficient to make me Maſter of the City, which may be entred without our being expoſed to the Fire of the Caſtle, which is impregnable by its advantageous Situation: It is built on a Rock, in the middle of the Sea, and ſurrounded on all Sides with extraordinary Fortifications. However, with my great Store of Artillery, I could, in a very little Time have reduced that Caſtle to Aſhes; beſides the Bombs that I could have uſed from my Ships, I might have rais'd what Batteries of Cannon and Mortars I pleaſed on Shoar, which is not above two hundred Yards from it

I ſhould not have run the Riſque here, as I muſt have done at *Porto Bello*, of ſeeing the *Spaniards* burn their Ships to deprive me of the Silver: For it being well known they do embark the Plate there, but a very few Days before the Departure of the Flota, conſequently, at the worſt, I could only have loſt the Merchandizes, of which I made little Account. In ſhort, 'tis probable, I ſhould have engag'd in this Expedition, had I not received ſome Advices at *St. Domingo*; that occaſioned me new Perplexities, viz. That tho' the Plate was not uſed to be embark'd until the Day before the Fleet ſailed, and was brought from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*, long before it was put on Board; yet of late Years, upon ſome Jealouſies, they bring it no farther than *Pueblo de los Angelos*, forty Leagues up the Country, from

from whence 'tis conveyed directly on Board the Flota.

According to the Rules of Navigation, which 'tis not neceſſary to inſert here, the Flota could not ſail till the Month of *May*, yet they might not come away evenuntil the Month of *Auguſt*; ſo if they had not by Chance taken the Reſolution of coming away with the firſt of the Seaſon, it being then but *March*, and we not above three Weeks ſail from them, I did foreſee that our Deſign would be ruin'd by my Arrival before the Plate was brought down, and I was no ways in a Condition of marching forty Leagues, with ſuch a ſmall Body of Forces, in an Enemy's, and well-inhabited Country. Moreover, I was not willing to begin with a Place that ſhould have fruſtrated my farther Intentions, in caſe I had been unſucceſsful: For ſuch is the Nature of the Gulph of *Mexico*, at the Bottom whereof *Vera Cruz* is ſituated, that at our coming out again, it would not be poſſible for us to entertain any other Thoughts, but thoſe of returning to *Europe*, as well becauſe of the Length of the Voyage as becauſe the Winds and the Setting of the Currents, would have prevented all other Attempts to the Eaſtward.

The only Place I could fix my Reſolutions upon, was *Carthagena*, which lay to windward; and altho' I ſhould have miſſed my Aim there, yet it would not have been any Obſtacle to my other Deſigns; not even againſt *Vera Cruz*, unleſs I conſumed my Time by adventurouſly falling upon the firſt Place, without a well-grounded Aſſurance of carrying it: The ſmall Number of my Forces, was the only Thing that could diſuade me from this Attempt; But this want of Strength, might be remedied by good Management.

Capt. *Venner*, an *Engliſhman*, having been ſeveral Years in the Service of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*,

*dies*, and commanded ſeveral of their Ships, was lately come into the Service of *France*, and was placed on Board *Deſaugets*, until ſome other Employ ſhould be given him. This Officer was very well acquainted with the Coaſts and Places of the *Weſt-Indies*; he had likewiſe ſome Knowledge of Geometry, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Canette*, my principal Ingenier, I got him to draw ſeveral Plans, eſpecially that of *Carthagena*, which we found to be as exact as any Thing could be expected that was made by Memory.

My firſt Deſign was to have immediately landed with Five thouſand Men, near *Carthagena*, not including the Seamen, I expected to have drawn theſe Forces from the places before-mentioned, with which I reckoned I ſhould be able to force the place, tho' beſides its ordinary defence, the whole ſtrength of the Galleons ſhould have been in it. But I was all manner of ways very much miſtaken in my Account, ſcarce having one half of the Forces I propos'd with which there was no probability of taking a place ſo famous in *India*, and ſo well known in *Europe*, for its Fortifications, which I found to be even better than they were reputed to be. The Ships were to Anchor in the open Sea, and by that means muſt have been expos'd to all the Inconveniencies of the bad Seaſon, which was not quite over; beſides, I might have been ſurpriz'd by the *Engliſh* Squadron, which I knew had Orders to follow me. In this caſe there was no likelihood for me to expect any Service from the Sea-men, it being altogether neceſſary to leave them on Board to work the Ships in bad Weather; but then again, having only the Land-Forces to re-embark, I might, upon any occaſion, ſoon put my ſelf into a poſture of defence.

Then I imagin'd, that if inſtead of attacking *Carthagena*, I only attempted *Baccachica*, which defends the entrance into that vaſt Harbour, called

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the *Lagune* of *Carthagena*, and ſhould carry that Fort, the reſt would be eaſily acquired, by reaſon I might bring my Ships under the Protection of this Fort, and thereby make uſe of the Sea-men that might be then ſpar'd from the Ships, which would in ſome meaſure make up the want of Land-Forces.

However, this Deſign had its Difficulties likewiſe: For the Paſſage which this Fort defends, is ſo narrow, and winding, that there's no ſailing through it, but you muſt warp your Ships along by their Anchors and Cables; now two Ships riding within, can prevent this work, and alone defend the entrance againſt the Strongeſt Fleet: I could not imagine, but that the *Spaniards* would uſe that Precaution, in caſe the Galleons had been at *Carthagena*.

On the other hand, if I could make a Deſcent on any other part of the Iſland, at one end of which ſtands *Carthagena*, at the other *Boccachica*, I might probably ſurmount all Difficulties, by expeditiouſly landing of my Cannon; with which croſſing the Iſland, and raiſing of Batteries on the Banks of the *Tagon*, I knew very well, I could either ſink, or force away any Ships that ſhould be poſted to defend the entrance: As to the Fort, I did no ways doubt the taking of it with the help of my Bombs, in ſpight of any Succours the Enemy might bring to it by Land.

Being once in poſſeſſion of *Boccachica*, I had ſeveral Reaſons for good hopes, in caſe the Galleons were not there, that I ſhould, by the help of the Sea-men (which I might take when the Ships were ſecur'd) be enabled to attempt *Carthagena*; and if the Galleons were there, then I purpos'd to attack them; and in caſe they ſhould reſolve to ſink themſelves, then I ſhould be able ſo to terrifie the Place with my Bombs, that they would yield to a Contribution that might reimburſe my Undertakers; and

from thence I could afterwards ſteer to ſome other Leeward Place.

After I had duly weighed theſe Matters, I abſolutely reſolved upon ſailing to *Carthagena*, and I publiſhed my Reſolution; which was applauded and received with all Marks of Satisfaction from the Soldiers. *Du Caſſe* propos'd the ſending away two Frigates of *Buccaniers*, to precede me, which ſhould land in the Night near *Carthagena*, to take what Priſoners they could make, and carry them to *Sambee*, twelve Leagues to Windward of *Carthagena*, and there expect our coming. Capt. *Pierre*, and Capt. *Blou*, were inſtantly commanded to ſail upon this Deſign; but inſtead of executing theſe Orders, the deſire of Pillaging, according to their uſual Cuſtom, engag'd them to chaſe ſome ſmall Veſſels they met, which they had not the Courage to board after they had driven them aground; and this occaſioned them to loſe ſo much time, that without having been at *Carthagena*, they arrived after me at *Sambee*, where a ſudden Guſt from the North-Eaſt, called here a Breeze, had forc'd me to come to an Anchor, and wait for better Weather to appear before *Carthagena* in.

On the thirteenth, the Wind being abated, we got under Sail, and directed our Courſe for *Carthagena*. The whole Fleet was compos'd of theſe Ships: Seven Frigates from eight to twenty four Guns, on board them about ſix hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*. One hundred and ten Inhabitants of St. *Domingo*, one hundred and ſeventy Garriſon Soldiers of the Coaſt, and one hundred and eighty Negroes, were diſpers'd on board the Men of War, and Flyboats belonging to the Squadron. This was all the aſſiſtance which I received from the Government of St. *Domingo*.

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The *Pontchartrain*, and the *French* Frigate were join'd to us as before mentioned, the one having forty Guns, and one hundred Men; the other twenty four Guns, and ſixty Men.

The Squadron was compos'd of ſeven great Ships.

The *Scepter* carrying eighty four Guns, and ſix hundred and fifty Men, commanded by *Guillotin*: I was on board this Ship.

The St. *Lewis* of ſixty four Guns, and four hundred and twenty Men, commanded by *Levy*, who acted as Vice-Admiral.

The *Fort* of ſeventy Guns, and four hundred and fifty Men, commanded by the Viſcount *Coetlogon*, who ſerved as Rear-Admiral.

The *Vermandois*, *Apollo*, *Furieux*, and St. *Michael*, all four of ſixty Guns each, and three hundred and fifty Men, were commanded by *Dubuiſſon*, *Gombaud*, *La Motte Michel*, and the Chevalier *de Marolles*.

The *Chriſt*, a *Spaniſh*-Prize, commanded by the Chevalier *de la Motte d'Heran*, of two hundred and twenty Men, and forty four Guns.

The *Avenant*, by the Chevalier *Francine*, two hundred Men, and thirty Guns.

The *Marin*, commanded by St. *Vandrille*, had one hundred and eighty Men, and twenty eight Guns.

The *Eclatant*, Bomb-Veſſel, commanded by *De Mons*, had ſixty Men.

The *Providence*, Brigantine, of thirty Men, and four Guns, commanded by the Chevalier *De L'Eſtouet*.

Two Flyboats.

Four Boats, call'd by the French *Traverſier*, who had each of them one Gun, and a Mortar.

On board theſe Ships, and Veſſels, were one hundred and ten Officers, fifty five Guards Marine, two thouſand one hundred Sea-men, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty Soldiers, effective Men.

Before I left the Road of *Irois*, or Cape *Tiburon*, which is the ſame place, I had regulated the Deſcent, and the manner of employing our Forces.

The Captains of the Men of War, *viz* thoſe that effectually were ſo, (but not all thoſe who commanded for ſuch, as did ſeveral Galliot-Captains, and ſome Men of War Lieutenants) were to ſerve as General-Officers, dividing themſelves according to theirSeniority, to be alternately aſhoar and on board; for it was abſolutely neceſſary to have ſome of them always in Command on board the Ships. *Du Caſſe* had the Command of all the *Buccaniers*, and Inhabitants of the Coaſt, whom I left to him, under their ancient Captains.

By Order of the Court, there was a State Major, compos'd of *Sorel*, Inſpector-General of the Marine Troops of *Britany*. The deſire of ſerving in this Expedition, induc'd him likewiſe to take upon him the Function of Major-General, but taking place only as Captain of *Theſut*, Major; of two Aid-Majors-General, who were the Chevaliers *Jaucoru* and *De Pointis*; a Sub-Major-General *Berandin*; and ſome Guards Marine, as Sub-Majors:

Of *Du Tilleul*, Commiſſary.

One principal Ingenier, and another, *viz*. *Canette* and *Tangey*, for whom were compos'd two Brigades of Officers, or Guards-Marine, as alſo ſome Voluntier-Soldiers, that were in ſome meaſure thought caprble of ſerving as Ingeniers. The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Creſt*, and *Courſy*, were the chief of theſe Brigades; the Chevaliers *de Neſmond*, and *Poulermout*, Enſeigns; *La Lande*, *du Ches*, and *Rochebonne*, Guards-Marin, choſe to ſerve as Aids de Camps under me.

Six

Six Battalions were compos'd of the Soldiers on board the King's Ships; the firſt was a Body of two hundred and fifty Grenadiers, drawn out of all the reſt, commanded by *La Roche de Vigier*, Capt. of a Frigat, but then ſerving as ſecond Captain on board the *Scepter*, commanded, I ſay, by him, as Collonel; *le Chevalier de Vezins*, Lieutenant of a Man of War, as Lieutenant-Collonel; *Vaujoux* ſerv'd as Major, St. *Lazare d' Ayde: Framiue*, *Montroſier*, and *Vignancourt*, had the Command of the five Companies that made this Battalion.

The five Senior Lieutenants of Infantry Marine, commanded as Colonels in the five other Battalions of three hundred Men each; who were the Chevalier *Marolles*, *le Chenau*, *de Breſme*, *Simonet*; the Guards-Marine were divided among them to augment the number of Officers. Beſides theſe, I made Detachments of four hundred Seamen, under their own Officers, all arm'd with Scythes and Piſtols; upon occaſion, theſe were to be commanded by Lieutenants of Ships, that had no Companies, who were *de Vaulx*, *Longuejoue*, *Carcavy*, *Siglas*, and *Sabran*, theſe were to be reliev'd by five Captains of Fireſhips that were on board our Squadron.

The one hundred and ſeventy Soldiers drawn out of the Garriſons on the Coaſt of St. *Demingo*, were in a ſeparate Body, and commanded by *Beaumont*. The one hundred and ten Inhabitants, and the one hundred and eighty Negroes, made each of them another. The *Buccaniers* were all in one Troop.

The Plans, and Memoirs, which I had of ſeveral places, of whoſe Errors I have much reaſon to complain, were nevertheleſs true in one point; For they gave me a plain aſſurance, that if we did not ſeize at out arrival at *Carthagena*, upon a conſiderable Eminence, and a Church called *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, that commands the Avenues; all the Treaſure

Treaſure would be carried off, the greateſt Part being in Gold and Emeraulds, eaſily to be tranſported up into the Country; which the *Spaniards* would not fail to do, upon the Approach of ſuch a formidable Fleet.

To get Poſſeſſion of this Poſt, I reſolved to land the *Buccaniers* the Night after my coming to an Anchor, they being very proper for ſuch an Attempt, as being accuſtomed to marching and ſubſiſting in the Woods, where each of them carries his own Proviſions, and lives upon what he kills; ſo I was informed at leaſt: Thus not being encumbered with any Baggage, their March might be kept ſecret, their Irruption unexpected, and in caſe of Neceſſity, their Retreat ſecure by ways unpaſſable to others. I had concerted with *Du Caſſe* all things relating to this Deſign which he undertook to ſee executed: We agreed upon the Signals he ſhould make me by Fires from the Hills, to acquaint me whether he wanted any Aſſiſtance, or Veſſels to re-embark his Men; or upon taking of the Poſt, whether he was in a Condition of maintaining it or not. On my Part, I was to inform him by Signals from the Ships of my Condition, and the Reſolution which various Accidents might oblige me to take.

Having concluded upon this Method of executing our Deſign, we arriv'd between *Carthagena*, and Point *Hicacos*, four Leagues to the Eaſtward, where finding good Ancorage in a great Bay, which the Land makes by running out to the Southward, we came to an Anchor about Four a Clock, two Leagues from the City, on the ſame Day, being the Thirteenth. The Squadron was got ready in the Morning at *Sambee*, and I deliver'd all my Orders by Signals; By this Diligence I was ſure to make a ſecure Deſcent, it not being poſſible that

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an Enemy could be able to guard all the Shoar, or march down time enough to hinder our landing.

So ſoon as the Ships were come to an Anchor, I made the Signal for the Chaloups (that were to land the *Buccanniers*) to go on board their Frigats, ſo ſoon as it was dark, and to them to be in Readineſs for the Boats, altho' it was reſolved they ſhould not embark until Midnight, to the end they might be aſhoar ſome Hours only before Day-light.

In the mean time, the *Fort*, the *Mutine*, and the Bomb-Veſſel, according to their Orders, were advanc'd towards the City; the laſt near enough to bombard, and the other two to guard her. I expected by thus employing of the Enemy with my Bombs to divert them from taking other neceſſary Precautions.

When the *Buccaniers* were to be embarked, in order to their landing, they did not behave themſelves ſo heroically as *Du Caſſe* had boaſted of them: For this Separation from the King's Forces afforded them a Proſpect of the dreadfulleſt Dangers; they began to apprehend the Want of Proviſions in the Woods, where they were us'd to ſubſiſt many Days, when they were only to rob and cut People's Throats ſleeping, whereas now they were to march againſt a People that ſtood on their Defence; yet to take away one of their Pretences that covered their Fear, we delivered them Proviſion, and the Major-General, after much ſtirring got them at laſt into the Boats.

All was in a Readineſs for the Deſcent, when I fortunately reſolved to viſit the Shoar; for the moſt proper Place of landing: One would not have thought that in a great Bay ſheltered from the Winds that uſually reign upon this Coaſt, where Ships find a good Ancorage, and the Sea calm, it ſhould be impoſſible to get aſhoar; but ſcarce were

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we come to it, when the Waves breaking upon the Rocks even with the Water, did but little miſs of filling my Canoe quite full of Water at once: *Levy*, *Du Caſſe*, and *Tilluel* were with me. We rowed down the Strand towards *Carthagena*, in Hopes of finding ſome proper Place; but there the Sea ran higher than from whence we came; and when we were fall'n ſo low, that it was not poſſible to proceed farther without engaging ourſelves among ſeveral little Lakes that from this Part water all the Territories of *Carthagena*, our Canoe came athwart a Sea that filled her half full of Water; and now in all Probability, our Enterprize, as yet not begun, was likely to end in a Goal: But *Levy* leaping into the Water, and by his Example encouraging the Seamen, that followed him, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts, we at Length got our Canoe afloat, that had ſtruck on the Rock, and delivered ourſelves from that imminent Danger. Our firſt Care was, by the other Canoes of the Majors, to diſpatch Orders to the Chaloups, not to come near the Shoar; where, embarraſs'd by a great Number of People on Board them, and being every Way larger, drawing more Water, and not ſo well provided with Rowers as my Canoe was, their Ruin muſt have been inevitable.

We were then, notwithſtanding all our Draughts and Memoirs, oblig'd to agree, that *Carthagena* was inacceſſable on this Side: For if in ſo calm a Day, the Sea was ſo boiſterous as we found it, what were we to expect in other Weather? In ſhort, the Stay we made in this Country, had ſhewn us by Experience, as well as inform'd us by the Relations of the Inhabitants, that the Sea upon all this Coaſt and in all Seaſons, is a natural invincible Rampart; and that *Carthagena* is approachable only by the Lake, which makes the Harbour.

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I reflected with Concern on this diſaſterous Adventure; I foreſaw, that in not being able to poſſeſs myſelf of that conſiderable Poſt of *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, I ſhould afford the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of ſeveral Days to carry off whatſoever they were deſirous to ſave, by Reaſon I could not be able to come at them, until I had taken the Fort of *Boccachica*.

Being wholly bent upon *Boccachica*, the Fleet got in a Readineſs of ſailing the Morning on the Fourteenth. We deſigned to paſs ſo nigh the Walls of *Carthagena*, as to do them all the Miſchief my Guns could afford them; but notwithſtanding my utmoſt Care to provide all Things neceſſary for every Veſſel of the *Buccaniers*, who have the Reputation of knowing this Coaſt; we found them ſo very ignorant, and ſo much at a Loſs, that we durſt not attempt any Thing upon the ſmall Informations that we could get from them; ſo we reſolved to take the ſureſt Precautions poſſible, by ordering the Chaloups to ſound before us. The *Scepter* not finding Water enough, could not come within Shot of the Town; the *Lewis* and the *Fort*, that drew leſs, even touch'd in ſeveral Places. However, that did not hinder them from firing, until I made them a Signal to join the Fleet. The Enemy made no great Fire, yet we perceived they had great Pieces, and good Store of them: To our Admiration, we obſerv'd, that *Carthagena* was inclos'd only on this Side with Palliſades, and old Walls that were in many Places fallen down; whereupon we founded our Projects and Hopes of a lucky Event; not knowing that Nature had ſufficiently provided for the Security of this Part, by the great Violence of the Sea that waſhes it: I touch'd twice, and came not this Night to an Anchor before *Boccachica*, being deſirous firſt to inform myſelf of all the Soundings; but came to an Anchor ſo ſoon as we found a

proper Depth. We underſtood afterwards, that the Place we had been in all Day, was about eight Years ſince a Plain, where the People of *Carthagena* uſed to walk.

I ſent away the Chaloups, to ſound the Coaſt even up to the Fort. I ordered St. *Vandrille* on Board the *Marine* to an Anchor over againſt the Entrance, that ſo he might prevent any Boats from carrying of Advice or Silver, to *Porto Bello.* All the Officers and Pilots, that had been out to ſound aſſured me, that there was every where Water enough, even to twenty Fathom, and near the Shoar; and the Coaſt jetting out to the Southward, had form'd near the Fort, a ſort of a Haven ſecure from the Violence of the Sea, which ran too high every where elſe for a Deſcent, and a ſmall Neck of Land, or Promontory, did likewiſe protect us from the Fire of the Fort; whereupon it was reſolved to come to an Anchor there, by the Break of Day, next Morning, being the Fifteenth, and to take our anchoring Births, according to the Diſpoſition of the Place.

All the Fleet were at Anchor on the Fifteenth at Noon: I immediately diſpatched away Major *Theſut*, to obſerve what Part of the Shoar was moſt proper for a Deſcent. Upon his Return, I made the Signal for landing, and ordered *Du Caſſe* to take eighty Negroes, that were on Board the *Feuriux*, to embark on Board the *Pereagoes*, which are a very light Veſſel, and therefore in no Danger of ſtranding; with theſe I ordered him to make up to *Carthagena*, and to come very near the Shoar, in two or three Places, without endeavouring to land, but only to draw out the Enemies, if there were any, and by that Means oblige them to diſcover what they were; and if there was no Appearance of any, he was to inform me of it by a Signal: The Woods lie cloſe to the Sea-ſhore, where the *Spaniards* might have kept themſelves concealed, and diſcharged

ged upon us without appearing, which oblig'd me to this Precaution; but *Du Caſſe* finding no ſuch Matter, landed with his Negroes, and hoiſted the white Flag upon a Rock. This acquainted me that he was landed: The Chaloups immediately made to Shoar, and the Deſcent was made without any Oppoſition. The Negroes were forthwith employed with their Bills and Hatchets, to make a Way thro' the Wood to the Lake, on the other ſide of the Iſland, where we deſigned to encamp, and make our Approaches to the Fort, the Ground on this Side towards the open Sea, not being ſo proper; beſides it was neceſſary to cut off their Communication with *Carthagena* by Land. The Iſland which is but narrow at the Point were the Fort is ſituated, is but a Quarter of a League from the Sea to the Lake, at the Place our Negroes were cutting, within half Cannon Shot of the Fort, from which we were covered by the Woods: The Way was made in a very little Time, ſo that all our Troops were ranged quite croſs the Iſland, making Places of Arms in the ſeveral Paths of the Wood that lead to *Carthagena*; by this Means we were ſoon poſted, and the Places of Arms, or *Corps du Garde*, were near enough to ſpeak to each other.

While we were thus ſettling our ſelves a-ſhoar, the *Lewis* made a little more out, and began to Cannonade the Fort; ſometime afterwards, the *Fort* Man of War doing the ſame, as likewiſe the *Scepter*, that follow'd at a little diſtance, the Battery began to be very warm, the Bomb-Gaiiiot, and the *Traverſier* with one Mortar, having taken their Stations, played their parts very well, which continued untill Night. The Enemy made a very ſlow Fire, which did not occaſion us much damage, only our Yards and rigging ſuffer'd a little, and three Men were kill'd or wounded.

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In our approach to the Lake, we had a little crook'd the Way leading towards the Fort, to the end we might fall directly in with a little Plain, which (the People of St. *Domingo* brought hither for our Guides, told us) lay between the Lake, the Wood, and the Fort; ſo we came out at the foot of a riſing Ground, that was high and large enough to cover us, and from whence we had the liberty of examining the Fort, which is not above Muſquet-ſhot from it: We lodg'd our ſelves here, expecting the approach of Night, to examine the Ditch, and where it was proper, to open the Trenches, by cutting down a part of the Wood, which we perceived to be much nearer to the Fort, than the Way we had cut: So ſoon as it was dark, the Major-General, and *Canette*, ſlipt away to make the Tour of the place, upon the Bank of the Ditch; which they did without being diſcover'd: *Levy*, *Jaucourt*, and I, being without deſign inſenſibly advanc'd into the Wood, untill we perceiv'd our ſelves near to the Ditch, we were deſirous to examine it. The obſcurity, and great ſtilneſs of the Night, favour'd our Attempt; we met the Major-General and *Canette* who had been round; our Meeting happen'd to occaſion ſome little Noiſe, upon which the Sentinels fir'd and we return'd, ſounding the Ground; which being proper for the Work, confirm'd us in the Opinion of opening the Trench in that part of the Wood which I ſaid was neareſt to the Fort; beſides, a little Fen being between the Eminency and the Fort, did deprive us of the conveniency of carrying on our Work on that ſide.

Upon the ſixteenth in the Morning, we began to make our Faſcines, Gabions, and to get our Artillery on Shore, which we wanted; one of the Mortars being brought aſhore in the Night, was ready to fire, and another was getting ready, when one of thoſe great *Pereagoes*, that are much uſed in

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the *Weſt Indies*, and big enough to carry ſixty Men, came gently ſailing on to *Boccachica* under the Shore, which ſhe did not imagine to be in our Poſſeſſion; but being perceived by our Grenadiers there, they reſolutely took their opportunity, without waiting for Orders, and fir'd ſo thick into her that at the firſt Diſcharge they killed and wounded fifteen or ſixteen Men, ſeven or eight more being perfectly ſcar'd, leap'd into the Water and were drowned, the reſt throwing themſelves into the bottom of the *Pereagoe*, ſhe lay floating on the Water, until ſome of our Negroes launching off a little Boat, that was by chance there, made to her and brought her aſhore. Beſides the killed and wounded, there were eight and twenty Men in her, among whom were two *Franciſcan* Friars, one of which had received a ſmall hurt in his Arm: By theſe Priſoners I was informed, that the Galleons were at *Porto Bello*, of which I had no certain Account ſince my coming out. They had been there ever ſince the end of *October*, and were expected every moment at *Carthagena*; their ſtay at *Porto Bello* having been contrary to all the Rules of Commerce, much longer than uſual.

I made uſe of one of theſe Friars to repreſent unto the Governor, (whom I deſigned to ſummon) the inſignificancy of his Defence, againſt ſuch unequal Forces, I multiplied them in the Eyes of the Fryar, by drawing forth all the Troops into the Wood; and whilſt they amus'd him, I made ſome of them file off through the By-ways, and advance themſelves beyond thoſe he had ſeen; the Ammunition, and Train of Artillery were ſhewed him; inſomuch that if the Matter had depended on him only, the Fort would have been ſurrendered at that very inſtant: However, he made uſe of all his Eloquence to the Governor; to whom he carried from me very honourable Propoſals. He anſwered,

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by my Drummer, that he was not reduced to the Condition of Capitulating; but when he was, he would be willing to accept of the Offers I had made him: moreover, he charged the *Franciſcan* in particular, with many Civilities to me.

The *Fort* Man of War returned to her Station to batter the Fort; but the Bullets that flew over it, falling into a Quarter of the Camp, that we deſign'd not to quit, I ſent her Orders not to retire, and to the *Scepter*, and St. *Lewis*, going to the ſame work, to return to their firſt Births. The Mortars on Board and thoſe on Shore, began to Fire at the ſame time.

About two in the Afternoon, two greater *Pereagoes* than that in the Morning, came before the Wind, to land Succours at the Fort, which the Governor of *Carthagena* had been ſollicited to ſend thither, upon finding their miſtake, in believing that my Expedition was upon the Galleons, and to land at *Porto Bello*; and that I durſt not engage upon an Enterprize of that moment, as was the attacking of *Carthagena*; but came thither only to ſee if the Galleons were there.

The Adventure and Example of the Morning, inſpired ſome of the *Buccaniers* with a Reſolution of doing what the Grenadiers had done: Theſe laſt *Pereagoes* having paſſed ſomething wide from the Poſt of the laſt, drew to the Shore only when they were pretty near the Fort; theſe *Buccaniers*, at the head of whom may be about twenty Men, that deſerve to be diſtinguiſh'd for their Courage, my intention being very far from comprehending them in the Deſcriptions which I make of the others: theſe *Buccaniers*, I ſay, having poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſome little Houſes on the Lake-ſide, made a very great Fire upon the *Pereagoes*; the Noiſe brought the Major-General, *Canette*, *Gougon*, and ſome other Officers to them, who encouraging this

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ſmall number of *Buccaniers* accidentally join'd by ſome Soldiers; led them towards the Fort, to prevent the *Pereagoes* that kept on their way, from landing the Forces on Board them. The other *Buccaniers* by the Example of the firſt, having taking Arms, ran to the Shore, where they made an extraordinary Fire; but the place being within Muſket-ſhot of the Fort, the Enemy began to fire upon them; and the *Buccaniers*, who are not uſed to engage where there is any Danger, made the moſt of their Heels to bring themſelves to ſhelter: I met them in their way, and finding that Words were of no weight with them, I lighted on a Cudgel, and with that forced them to return to the Poſt they had abandoned. *Du Caſſe* was ſurpriſed at this way of carrying Men on, yet concealed in ſilence, the vexation he conceived at the Action. In this ſpace of time the *Pereagoes*, terrified with the Diſcharge they ſuſtained, were tack'd about, and on their return towards *Carthagena*: The Major-General taking the advantage of this opportunity, poſted himſelf with the ſmall Troop that followed him, at the foot of the Counterſcarp, which the blindneſs of the *Spaniards* had left ſo, as it covered us from the Fire of the Ramparts. *Canette*, *Le Cher*, *Marin*, and *Gougon*, were wounded in this Action; fifteen Soldiers and *Buccaniers* were killed and wounded. *La Mothe* Enſign of the *Buccaniers*, pitched his Colours, yet neither his Signal nor my Blows, were ſufficiently powerful to make his Companions advance. I then imagined, that by ſuſtaining thoſe that were at the foot of the Counterſcarp, I might make an advantageous Buſineſs of this accidental Attempt: So I abandoned the *Buccaniers* to their Cowardice, and ordered two Companies of Grenadiers, with the Battalion of *de la Chenau* that was at hand to march; *Levy* put himſelf at their head, and to

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ſhorten the way, march'd up to his Belly through the Water, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelf likewiſe of the foot of the Counterſcarp; at this inſtant *Du Caſſe* received a Contuſion on the Thigh, by a Cannon Ball falling among a heap of Stones. The Major-General did not forget to ſend me word, that the Poſt he had taken might be kept, by cauſing the Troops to march, altho' at the hazard of ſome Men, by reaſon of the Fire which they were to ſuſtain in going to it; but thoſe Men were got to him, before his Meſſenger had ſpoke to me, ſo there was no time for deliberation, it being neceſſary to maintain this Lodgment; becauſe the Counterſcarp almoſt environing the place, through the fault of not being cut ſloping at the foot, afforded ſhelter from the Fire of the Ramparts, and was capable of receiving a greater number of Men than mine. I ſent Major *Theſut* to bring up the Battalions, as likewiſe the Ladders, with all imaginable Expedition, to be at Hand, in caſe there ſhould be occaſion for them; and as the Battalions came up, ſo they defil'd off to the foot of the Counterſcarp. The Beſieged fir'd very briſkly, but being obliged to expoſe their whole Bodies, that their Shot might not be made too high, and being eaſily reach'd in that poſture, they ſoon bethought themſelves of firing from behind their Defences, and thereby occaſioned us but very little Damage.

*Du Buiſſon Varenne*, was at the place of our deſcent with two Battalions, who hearing the Noiſe of our Fire, imagin'd we were attacking the place, altho' he knew not in what manner; he made thro' the Wood, into the place where the two Mortars were rais'd, and by the way of the little Plain, which is but a quarter ſo long as that in the Wood which makes a Circle, he brought us that Supply at the Minute the Beſieged call'd out, They were willing

willing to capulate, if they might have good Quarter. I anſwer'd them, that there was good Quarter for them; but that was all: And, that, if they did not immediately throw their Arms into the Ditch, for an inſtance of their Sincerity to ſurrender, I would continue the ſetting up of my Ladders; after which, they were not to hope for Quarter. Several of them obey'd, and we ſaw the Harquebuzes in the Air falling into the Ditch. By this being very well aſſur'd of their Intention. I preſently confirm'd the firſt aſſurance of fair Quarter, with my farther Promiſes of good uſage: I required to have the Gate opened at that Inſtant, my Impatience not being ſatisfied with their calling from the place that they were actually at work upon clearing of it: For I was apprehenſive, that ſome alteration might happen by the delay. But to appeaſe me, they let down a Man by a Cord, who came to aſſure me from the Governor, That they uſed the utmoſt diligence to deliver themſelves into my Hands. In a moment of time the Gate was open'd and old *Sanchez Ximenez*, who had been Governor for above twenty five Years, came and delivered the Keys into my poſſeſſion. I gave him all the Comfort I could, in the good uſage I ſhewed him, by giving him, and his Officers, their Liberties, and among the reſt to, the Preſident of the Iſle of St. *Martha*, who happened to be at that time in the Fort, and to be wounded: Moreover, I permitted the Governor to carry away whatſoever belong'd to him; and the next Day he retired, with his Domeſticks and Slaves, to his Country-Houſes, on the other ſide of the Lake.

This peice of Succeſs did not ſtand me in above fifty Men, therein comprehending all the ſeveral Bodies, as Grenadiers, Soldiers, Inhabitants of the Coaſts, Negroes, and *Buccaniers*. The Garriſon being Priſoners of War, were confin'd. *La Roche du Vigier*, that commanded the Grenadiers, I made

Governour; to whom, beſides Canoniers, and other neceſſary Workmen, I left the Soldiers of the Coaſt for his Garriſon. By this I put him into a Condition of defending me, if occaſion were. The Enemies Garriſon did conſiſt of about three hundred Men, whereof two hundred and ten remain'd fit for Service, the reſt were either kill'd or wounded in the Bombardment, cannonading, and Attack.

On the ſeventeenth we re-embark'd all that we had on Shoar, towards the main Sea, and began to work our ſelves into the Lake, but the careful tranſporting of our Ammunition and Proviſion being of the higheſt conſequence, and could only be counted ſafe in the Lake, I reſolved not to ſtir, untill they were got in: For which Reaſon I was obliged to defer our March untill the next Day, to the ſecond Fort, that was about two Leagues and a half from us, called St *Croix*; the taking of which was not leſs neceſſary to enable our Ships to come within Cannon-ſhot of *Carthagena*, than that of *Boccachica*, to facilitate the entrance into the Lake.

My Intention all along was to cut off the Avenues of *Carthagena*, ſo ſoon as it was poſſible, by ſecuring the Poſt of *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*; to which Purpoſe, I had in the Morning ſent away the Brigantine, *Traverſiers*, and Chaloups, neceſſary for the carrying of the *Buccaniers*, which I order'd upon this Expedition, for the Reaſons before-mention'd. *Du Caſſe* fearing that a long troubleſome March might bring this Contuſion into a Wound, refuſed to charge himſelf with the Command: His Major, that had formerly ſerv'd with thoſe Pirates, and was at preſent in a conſiderable Employ, ought to have had this Command; but he likewiſe diſtruſted his Health: Thus there was only *Daunou* left, who was no ways agreeable to them, as well by Reaſon of his Misfortune, in not having acquired on the Coaſt of St. *Domingo*, either the Eſteem or Love of any Body; as likewiſe upon the Account

count of being Lieutenant-Governor in a Place where they never make any Stay; ſo they could not be perſwaded, that he had any Right to command them: However, it was neceſſary I ſhould make Uſe of him, for want of another. I diſpoſed of all Things for it, deliver'd him his Inſtructions, and even made moſt of them embark in my Preſence; yet no ſooner was my Back turn'd, but he came running up with Tears in his Eyes, to demand Juſtice upon their Inſolence, for preſſing them to go into the Boats, that attended on them; it was murmur'd about, that they did not know him, neither would they obey him: In ſhort, they refuſed to embark; whereupon he took one of them by the Arm, to puſh him into the Canoe, which the Fellow had the Impudence to return very inſolently. I forthwith ordered the Delinquent to be ſhew'd to me, and upon the Spot I had him tied to a Tree, a Confeſſor was called, a Cloth bound over his Eyes, and the Muſketteers were marching to do Juſtice on him; when *Daunou*, whom 'twas very neceſſary for me to reconcile to the *Buccaniers*, having beforehand inſtructed him what to do, threw himſelf at my Feet, proteſting, he would not riſe until I had beſtowed Mercy on the unfortunate Offender. I ſeemed to be very difficult, upon the Account of good Order; but at Length, at the preſſing Deſires of the Company, I gave him his Life. And much Trouble there was to revive the Condemned, who could not believe that it was poſſible for him to be alive again, after the Ceremony of binding his Eyes.

Being deſirous to put an End to this Affair, I went to the neareſt Veſſel, where Captain *Pierre* was embark'd; who was (as I was inform'd) the firſt Beginner of the Mutiny; but, in the Time of bringing the Fellow to Execution, he had conſider'd the Matter, and was marched on Board with his

*Buccaniers*; I commanded him to be immediately dragg'd out, and put into my Canoe, and ordered him to prepare to die: But there appearing from the Reſt of the Company, many Signs of Submiſſion and Acclamations of, *God ſave the King*, I at laſt reſolved to forgive the Offence; yet withal threatning to decimate them, upon the leaſt Complaint that *Daunou* ſhould make of their Miſbehaviour.

This Uſage, ſo different from the Cajolements they had been accuſtomed to receive, from thoſe that made Uſe of them; did me very good Service, during the whole Time they were under me, ſo as to make 'em tolerably obedient to *Daunou*; yet not expoſing themſelves to the Danger of Fire and Sword: For having without Trouble poſſeſſed themſelves of *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, that was utterly abandon'd by the Enemy; and believing that upon their Approach to the little Fort of St. *Lazare*, between *La Pouppe* and *Carthagena*, they might frighten the Garriſon to retire from them alſo, he propos'd this Attempt to them; but it was to no Purpoſe: And in a Council where he did not preſide, they reſolved to attend my Coming, encamp'd in the Wood, at the foot of the Fort, were they got about thirty Hours before me.

On the Seventeenth, all the Ships being drawn into Order, at the Entrance into the Lake they paſſed it in the Morning of the Eighteenth. The *Diep* Flyboat touch'd; the great many Banks of Sand in the Lake, without which our Pilots did not know, was the Occaſion we did not advance very much that Day: The *Apollo* ran a-Ground this Day, but theſe Banks being only Sand and Ouſe, mingled with a very fine Turf, there was no fear of Danger.

In the mean Time, being ſure of having the Ships ſuddenly follow me, we began our March by Break of Day; and for Security againſt all Hazards, took two Days Proviſion with us for the Forces,

ces, which was dignified with the Title of the Land Army: This, after the Departure of the ſix hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*, that were gone to the other Side, and the Garriſon of one hundred and ſeventy Men remaining behind us in the Fort of *Boccachica*, might conſiſt of about one thouſand ſeven hundred Men, not including ſome Seamen, one hundred and ten Inhabitants of St. *Domingo* formed in Companies, fifteen or twenty Voluntiers, that followed *Du Caſſe*, and one hundred and eighty Negroes.

I was obliged to defer making Uſe of my Seamen, until the Ships were arrived, and had taken their Stations: The ſmallneſs of our Forces was no diſcouragement to us. The Marines eſpecially, being highly pleaſed with the Execution of a Buſineſs, in which they had never before been employ'd, did apply themſelves with all imaginable Diligence and Good-will, every one of them chearfully undertaking whatſoever was appointed to him.

After we had croſs'd the Mountains covered with Woods, which the Negroes examined before us, we met with the Plain, that is here and there covered with Shrub-wood, and at Noon came to an old ruin'd Caſtle, within half a Mile of St. *Croix*: Here we reſted the Troops; and beſides the Pits, that are there eaſily made in the Sand, and afford indifferent good Water, we had the good Fortune to find a great Ciſtern that was a mighty Conveniency to us. After this Refreſhment, the Viſcount *de Coetlogon*, whoſe Day it was, march'd on with a part of the Grenadiers, to obſerve how we might encamp as near as poſſible to the Fort, and to ſeize upon the Paſſages that are in thoſe Marſhes, that encompaſs the Fort; in the mean time we continued our March, not being able to leave the Shore, becauſe the Lake approaching in divers Places, within a few paces of the Sea, permits

mits you the choice of that way only, until we came down from the Mountains, below which the Iſland is pretty ſpacious. This way having brought us within Cannon-ſhot of the Baſtion of *Carthagena*, called St. *Domingo*, we ſtruck ſhort off to the right, by a way that the Marſh leaves croſs the low Woods, called *Maugliers*, that grow in the Water.

In this place I was informed by the Officers that *Coetlogon* ſent me, that he was at the foot of St. *Croix*, which the Enemy had abandoned, having carried off their Cannon, and ſet fire to the Lodgements that were there; likewiſe that ſome part of the Forces might encamp upon a Spot of Ground about the Fort, but that the reſt muſt be left in the way worn near the Fort by a Rill of Water runing from the neighbouring Marſhes; that the bottom was good, and the Water not above Knee-deep, which would no ways prevent a communication.

*Levy*, the Major-General, and myſelf, with ſome Grenadiers, were in the mean time ſo near advanced to *Carthagena*, as eaſily to obſerve, that the place could not be attack'd on one ſide, the Marſhes and Sea not leaving there a Sandy ſpace of about twenty Fathom over, which was expoſed to the fire of three Baſtions; beſides, there was no ſinking two foot deep, without being in Water. The great Number of People that we ſaw on the Ramparts, who quietly looked on us, made me deſirous to ſummon them; the Gvernour was there and anſwered my Drum, that he was ready to defend himſelf better than we could attack him.

We could not exactly diſcern the foot of the Rampart; and being deſirous to know, if there was a Ditch, I ordered *De Breſme*, whoſe Battalion was encamp'd at the leaſt diſtance from it, to examine at Night how it was; which he performed very well, and aſſured me, that the Water of the Marſh went up even to the foot of the Walls, and that there

was

was only a ſmall dry ſpace of Sand, that environ'd part of the great Baſtion called St. *Domingo*, and that on the other ſide, the Sea came up to the foot of the Baſtion. This Report made us conclude, not to attack *Carthagena* in this place.

The next Day, being the nineteenth, ſo ſoon as it was Day, we croſſed the Lake, with much diligence: *Pally*, that commanded the Negroes, whom I had ordered to ſeek out a convenient place of deſcent, having aſſured me, that he had found out two, which came almoſt up to the great way; I immediately paſſed over with *Levy*, *Sorel*, and the Grenadiers of the Battalion of *de la Chenau*, being conducted by ſome Priſoners, that *Pally* had taken on board of a *Pereago*, which had endeavoured to get from *Carthagena*: Theſe Priſoners, in hopes of being the better treated, had offered themſelves for our Guides; and indeed led us very nigh to the Foot of the Eminency, upon which Fort St. *Lazare* is ſituated. At this Place we found the *Buccaniers*, (*Dannou* had left a Detachment of 'em to guard *NoſtreDame de la Puoppe*) *Coetlogon*, *La Motte Michel*, *and La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had left at St. *Croix*, to bring away the reſt of the Troops, as the Chaloups came to them, inſomuch that we were all got together by Break of Day next Morning, leaving only a Serjeant and twenty Men in Fort St. *Croix*, with Orders to keep the Gates always ſhut, that and the Situation being ſufficient to prevent the Enemy from repoſſeſſing themſelves of it.

We had in the Evening of the nineteenth Day, view'd all the Places adjacent to St. *Lazare*, and perceived, that without getting it into our Poſſeſſion, it would not be poſſible to advance a ſtep towards *Carthagena*, by reaſon it commands all the Avenues: We beheld with much trouble, the time it muſt coſt us, if we attacked it in Form, and

brought

brought our Artillery to batter it. This whole little Mountain is defended with a natural Glacis, very ſteep, covered with Shrub-wood, which runs up to the foot of the Wall, where we ſuppoſed was a Ditch, the Wood being extreamly thick, and very difficult to paſs, prevented us from going to it; upon which I ordered the Chevalier *de Pointis*, to ſeek out two Negroes to examine the Matter, but underſtanding to what Purpoſe, I ſent for them, he betook himſelf to the Wood, at the ſame time he ſent them to me which he croſs'd in the beſt Manner he could, until he took hold of the very Wall; the Negroes went almoſt as faſt as he, and then came to aſſure me that the Ground was level to the Foot of the Fort: The Chevalier *de Pointis* quietly heard their Report, which being exactly true, he ſaid not a Word of what he had done. In all this Occaſion, there was only a Grenadier killed upon our Return.

Upon the next Day, being the twentieth, *Levy*, *Coetlogon*, and *Sorel*, having got up to an Eminency, that was above all the others, ſent to me, to come to them; from whence they ſhewed me, that the Fort did not take up (as we had imagin'd) all the Eminency, which extended a good diſtance farther to the right; and, that if we could make a Way, through the Wood, to that heighth; we might afterwards go upon a level from thence to the foot of the Fort, all the way, being covered with Woods; and that we could fix a Miner to it, if the Garriſon ſhould reſolve not to quit it. Upon this, I ordered the Major-General to call to Arms, and having called the Negroes to me at the moment I came down, I put them to work upon cutting of a Way, to facilitate the March of the Troops; this was carried on half way up the Hill, where dividing the Way, to encompaſs the Fort, *Levy* marched to the right, *Coetlogon* to the left, and the Major-General viſited every place at his Preſence was requiſite.

This

This Work being found ſhorter than what we had expected, we arrived at the foot of the Fort, in a very little time, where we made the greateſt Fire that was poſſible for us to make, at the ſame time calling out for the Ladders; not that we expected to uſe them, but to terrifie the Garriſon; however, I ſent for the Miner in good earneſt.

During which time, the Enemy made no great Fire, by reaſon we made our Shot upon them, ſo ſoon as they expos'd their Bodies to view. They had for a good while perceived, that we were piercing through the Wood; and we underſtood, by the ſounding of a Bell, how much every ſtep we made increas'd their trouble. This Bell was a ſignal to the City, to acquaint them with their Condition; at firſt it ſtruck only now and then, keeping ſounding more and more by degrees, until at length it rung full out, when their fear gave them occaſion to think they would be attack'd on all ſides which had effectually happen'd, if they had not choſe rather to retire, for the Quarter towards the Gate was then free to them.

In this manner we poſſeſs'd our ſelves of the Fort: In the place there was only nine kill'd and wounded. On our ſide, the Chevalier *de Vezins*, that commanded the Grenadiers, ſince *La Roche du Vigier* was made Governor of *Bocçachica*, was kill'd, with five Grenadiers; *Simmonet*, Colonel of a Battalion, dangerouſly hurt in the Head, and St. *Lazare*, Captain of Grenadiers, wounded in the Thigh.

The taking of St. *Lazare*, giving us the liberty to open our ſelves, we croſs'd the way, and advanced our Camp to the Chappel of St. *Lazare* Hoſpital, which is a great breadth; being cover'd on one ſide, with ſeveral little Canals, that have a communication with the Lake; and on the other, by a high thick Wall, which beſides the Trees that

covered us, did prevent the Baſtions of the City from diſcerning the place we poſſeſs'd; the killed and wounded that we had, were only by chance Balls: In the mean time, this little Chappel gave us the opportunity of going covered within a ſmall Muſquet-ſhot of the place, which is not above that diſtance from it.

Whilſt we were thus employ'd, the Ships, by the care of *Du Buiſſon*, were come nearer to the Town; inſomuch that in the Morning, a Bomb-Galliot with a Mortar, and a *Traverſier*, were moor'd, and began to fire. In the Evening the *Traverſier* was obliged to retire, being ſhot thro' with ſeveral Balls, and ready to ſink; *Bois Pinault*, Lieutenant of the Artillery, commanded her; *De Mons* was in the Galliot, which likewiſe ſuffered ſo much, that ſhe was obliged to retire a little; beſides ſhe had a great many kill'd on Board her; but the ſtrength of theſe Veſſels enabling them to endure a great deal of Fire, ſhe began again in the Morning of the twenty firſt of the ſame Month

My chief Ingenier was wounded, and ill; whereby I was oblig'd to execute that Function. The Officers of the Marine, which I had form'd into Brigades, had only their own Readineſs to enable them to execute every thing, which could not ſupply the want of Practice and Judgment. I had, by good Luck, at the firſt, agreed with the Major-General, where to begin the Opening and Advancement of the Trenches. I had, moreover, deſign'd the Batteries of Cannons and Mortars, and given Orders for the things neeeſſary to the Works; by which means, the Accident that happened to me a few Hours afterwards, did not much interrupt our Proceedings: In the mean time, all Hands were at work, the Soldiers upon Faſcines and Gabions, the Sea-men upon landing the Artillery; in the drawing of which, the Hundred and eighty Negroes

were

were a mighty aſſiſtance to us: For as to the *Buccaniers*, we were never able to make the leaſt uſe of them; and the ſhare which they ought to have perform'd of the Work, falling upon others, who were by this means over-wrought, did not a little contribute to the cauſing of thoſe Diſtempers, which ſo lamentably reigned among us afterwards.

Our ſmall number, and the great many things to be done, forced us to keep the Troops with their Arms in one hand, and their working-Tools in the other, the Soldiers were at one and the ſame time, both on the Guard, and working: the nearneſs of the Woods, on whoſe ſides we were encamped, were a great conveniency to us: For when we drew out our Troops, they left their Arms upon that ſpot, and went to the wood with their Tools; and upon the firſt Beat of Drum, they quitted their Tools and running to their Arms, were immediately in a condition of marching; the Battalion of Grenadiers, was ever at the Head of the Camp, to ſuſtain whatſoever might be preſented; and that was ſufficient, by reaſon the diſpoſition of the Ground was ſuch, that the Camp was on all parts innaceſſible, but on that only towards the City.

Nor were they leſs diligent on board the Fleet: *Du Buiſſon* cauſed the *Scepter* to advance, commanded by *Guilotin*, the Saint *Lewis* by *Sabran*, and the *Vermandois*, aboard which he commanded; with theſe Ships he made up towards the City, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* had purpoſely ſunk a Galleon to render the paſſage difficult: We were obliged to leave on Board theſe Ships that were to fight, a great many Sea-men to work the Guns; which diminiſh'd the number of thoſe employed upon Diſimbarkment, and tranſporting of the Artillery that was neceſſary to us on Shoar: It is hardly to be imagin'd, how ſo ſmall a parcel of our

Men was able, in ſix Days to diſimbark, draw half a League upon Land, and bring into a State of Battery, twenty ſeven of the greateſt Cannon we uſed, five Mortars, and all the Equipage neceſſary to the execution of both the one and the other, beſides the Proviſions that were obliged to bring to the Camp; but it is true, that *Du Tilleul* being charged with this Care, attended it with ſuch application, that making uſe of the Sea-men only at certain Intervals, he conſtantly kept our Magazines fill'd with Proviſion and Ammunition, without ever interrupting any other Buſineſs.

Our Affairs being in this State, and having, moreover, raiſed a Mortar to prevent the Enemy from going on with a work that we perceived they had begun upon a Platform over the Gate: We having twice neglected to throw up a Breaſt-work that I had mark'd out; and fearing leaſt at the third time there might not be ſomething farther neceſſary to be done, that might occaſion a Delay, I reſolved to continue my Preſence there until it was perfected; my Stay inconſiderately brought a great many Officers; this Number of People being moreover remarkable for their Clothes, drew upon us the Enemy's Fire, and particularly that of their Cannon, with Hail-ſhot, by which I was wounded; my Hurt was more painful than dangerous, yet I was very fearful that this Accident might diſcourage our Men, which indeed was too apparent at firſt: Moreover, I was apprehenſive leaſt the Officers, whom I had by good Fortune maintained in a perfect Union hitherto, ſhould not continue the ſame, which would have been detrimental to our Deſign: I reſolved therefore to ſtruggle with the Pain which I felt; inſomuch, that after the third Day I was carried into every part that I could have viſited in another Condition:

But

But during that interval, I committed all things that I could not inſpect, to the care of *Levy*; who certainly acquited himſelf to a degree above all manner of Praiſe; indefatigable, full of Expedients and Contrivances for the Work; neglectful of his Reſt, and his Meals; he was every-where, and forwarded every thing with an incredible vigour.

The Viſcount *de Coetlogon*, was to have commanded the Artillery; but I was over-joyed to underſtand, that his Inclinations were rather to enter, with the reſt, into the general Service; this gave me an opportunity of chooſing ſeveral Perſons, to manage the Artillery, who did their Duty with more expedition than would have been poſſible for any ſingle Man to have done: So he had the Guard only of the Battery of five Cannons of twelve and eighteen Pounders, which he rais'd at the foot of Fort St. *Lazare*; in which Fort we had got mounted ſeven pieces of twelve, eight, and ſix, that terribly ſhatter'd the Baſtions of the place. *Mornay*, Commander of the *Pontchartrain*, was in the Fort with his Ship's Company; the Chevalier *De la Motte d' Heran*, took upon him the care of a great Battery of nine Guns, that was likewiſe upon the ſame Eminency with the Fort, but more to the right than the firſt: *La Motte Michel*, had the Charge of that we called, *The Royal Battery*, conſiſting of ſix pieces of thirty ſix and twenty four, planted ſixty fathoms diſtant from the Gate, and deſigned to make the Breach: *Gombaud* played the Mortars, which he had been exercis'd in from his Youth, and doubtleſs never any did better execution than theſe; for one would have thought the Bombs had been plac'd by Hand, in the places where they were deſign'd to fall. Theſe Mortars were placed between the Batteries of the Cannon, in ſuch manner, that has ſoon as they began to play the

the place was on fire in ſeveral parts at once; the Galliot was at work on her ſide, but the Bombs ſhe ſpent the firſt Days, were of little or no effect.

The twenty-firſt, twenty-ſecond, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, were employ'd in tranſporting the Cannon, and getting together the things neceſſary; the *Vermandois* only was advanced to cannonade the Town; but I being informed, that ſhe being alone did ſolely bear the whole Fire of a Baſtion, that could conveniently reach her, I ordered her to retire, and to wait for the other Ships that were to go on with her; we were likewiſe conſtrained to bring away two ſmall Cannons that we had rais'd in the Chapel of St. *Lazare*, without any other Parapet than the Wall, upon which the Enemy making an extraordinary Fire, render'd this Poſt untenable, we brought off the Cannon with the Loſs of eight or ten Men.

*Canette*, altho' wounded, returned to the Camp this Day, being the twenty-fourth; and I continued to regulate, upon my Bed with him, what was neceſſary to be done. In the Evening of the ſame Day he opened the Trench a little below the Door of the Chapel of St. *Lazare*, where we were under Cover, being the ſame Place I had agreed upon with the Major-General. *Levy*, whoſe Day it was, did not Command, by reaſon he was intruſted with the General Management of the Siege in my ſtead: *Coetlogon* mounted the Guard in the Trench, which was advanced the ſame Night ſeventy-two fathoms, being as far as was neceſſary to attack the City Gate, when the Breach ſhould be perfectly made. The following Days the Captains took their Turns, according to their Places, and mounted every twenty-four Hours; the Batteries were likewiſe brought into a condition for Service, and on the twenty-eighth began

began to play, our Fire until then being only from ſome little Pieces that were mounted in haſte. The Enemies Fire, which had always been very moderate, grew now ſomething ſlower; for the Bombs, and the Cannon of the Fort and the Hill, had diſmounted ſeveral of their Pieces; yet they troubled us leſs with their Sallies, for they did not ſo much as attempt to make one in the whole Siege.

At this time, a Bark ſent from *Porto Bello*, by the General of the Galleons, to the Governor of *Carthagena*, not knowing what paſs'd in this Place, came quietly into *Boccachica*, and fell into the Hands of the *Avenant*, and *Marin*, that I had left there, who took her with their Canoes: The Letters on Board her, were in Anſwer to thoſe the Governor of *Carthagena* had ſent to the General, informing him, that the *French* Fleet was upon the Coaſt; they contain'd a particular of the Precautions that were us'd to ſecure the Galleons, *viz.* By bringing them to the very lower End of the Port, and defending he Approach to them by an Eſtoccade of Piles, and Platforms of Cannon: They added farther, That Part of the Silver which they had, was already brought into the Caſtles; for they had ſuſpended their Reſolution of ſending it back to *Panama*, until they had received ſome farther Informations of our Deſigns; which the General preſſed the Governor to ſend him immediately, either by the ſaid Bark, or a ſecond, that was to come away in four and twenty Hours after the firſt: But what acquainted us with the miſerable Condition they were in, was the earneſt Deſires of the General, in the moſt preſſing Terms, to ſend him fifty Pullets, and ſome Quintals of white Biſcuit.

Altho the Batteries, as I ſaid, were not in a Condition to fire, until the twenty-eighth, yet that deſigned

ſigned to make the Breach, was play'd ſo ſucceſfully, by *La Motte*, *Michel*, *Siglas*, *Longjoue*, and ſome other Officers under him, aſſiſted by the Gunner of the *Scepter*, that on the twenty-ninth in the Morning, the Wall ſeemed to totter; our Fire had not been diſcontinued becauſe of the Night, but it increas'd ſo much in the Day, that in the Evening the Front of the Rampart being quite fallen down *Levy*, and *Sorel*, who would loſe no Time, imagin'd the Breach was paſſable, and came to propoſe the Aſſault to me. I was reſolved neither to loſe, nor neglect a Minute; but likewiſe determined not to hazard any thing upon ill Grounds: I ordered to Arms, and diſpoſed all things for an Aſſault; yet reſolving not to engage before I judg'd it feaſible: In ſhort, Night being come, whilſt we prepared our ſelves, the Chevalier *de Pointis* paſſing up to the Arm-pits in Water, over the little Marſh upon which the Cauſey, and the Bridge, that communicates with the City, are built, went to view the Breach. He aſſured me, that the wall was indeed very much ruin'd; but that it was not poſſible, as yet, to mount it without Ladders.

The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, Captain of a Fire-ſhip, who was at the Head of the Brigade of Ingeniers, that I had ſent to obſerve the Condition of the wooden Bridge, (which the Enemy had endeavour'd to blow up, by running under a *Pereago* fill'd with Powder) brought me word, That the Bridge had ſuffered; yet might not be altogether unſerviceable to us: And, that the Gate beyond it which we imagin'd was beat down by the Cannon, was ſtrongly terraſs'd on the inſide; of this he was poſitively certain, by reaſon he had put his Hand into the Holes which the Cannon had made, and therefore there was no hopes of carrying the place by that; but that the Breach muſt be paſs'd, to the

foot

foot of which he could not get from the place where he was; and that he was, by all that he could perceive in the Night, but little advanc'd.

Theſe two Officers were too well known, to doubt of their having been where they ſaid they were: Moreover, *Canette* told me, he was not quite ready; that all the Gabions, and Faſcines, which he had got together, were ſpent; and, that if by chance we ſhould find ſo much reſiſtance as to be oblig'd to lodge upon the Breach, we ſhou'd not be able to do it, our Earth-ſacks being at the Lake-ſide, for want of Hands to bring them; that there were two little Flanks unruin'd, that would deſtroy a great many Men in the Attack; all theſe Reaſons engag'd me to diſmiſs the Troops from their Duty, and we agreed not to make the Aſſault untill the firſt of the next Month; in the mean time, to employ both Night and Day in the finiſhing of the Breach, and to get together all ſuch things as would be neceſſary upon that occaſion.

Upon the twenty ninth, *Du Buiſſon* being advanc'd with the three Ships, *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, and *Vermandois*, within a ſmall Cannon-ſhot of the City, they fired upon it with all their Artillery; but ſeeing it only reach'd the tops of the Houſes, and my Buſineſs being to have two Baſtions ſilenc'd that annoy'd my Camp, I ſent to let them know, That when they were retired in the Evening, they ſhould wait new Orders before they begun again.

In the mean time, we prepar'd our ſelves for the Buſineſs of the next Day; the Order of Attack I had regulated with the Major-General, in this manner:

A Serjeant, with ten Grenadiers, ſhould begin, ſuſtained by the Company of Grenadiers on Guard, there being always one at the Head of the Trench; the whole Body of Grenadiers were likewiſe to ad-

vance to the Head of it, to ſuſtain the firſt, and to preceed a Battalion, in whoſe Rear ſhould be *Carette*, the Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Creſt*, *Courſy*, and one hundred and fifty Workmen, with the Sub-Ingeniers, and all neceſſary Implements; after whom ſhould follow the ſame number of *Buccaniers* and Negroes. The Head of the Trench was twenty Fathom diſtant from the little Ravelin, that in ſome ſort covers the Bridge, whoſe Wall was ſo low, that it might have been paſs'd, if it had not been eaſier to paſs through a ſingle Barrier that was there, and theſe Troops fill'd all the Trench, unto the Gate of the Chappel: All the reſt of the Battalions were poſted according to their Ranks, within the Cloſe of the Hoſpital, to march into the Trench as faſt as the firſt Troops advanc'd out of it, to the Attack, and to follow 'em up, and ſuſtain them. I recommended to Major *Theſut*, in particular, the good order which theſe Battalions were to obſerve to the end, that too much Precipitation might not cauſe Confuſion in their March, nor too much Slowneſs occaſion as much Inconveniency by any Interval being left open.

All Things were thus regulated for the next Day, when *Du Caſſe*, whoſe Day it was, came to tell me, about three o'Clock, that he ſaw the Breach from the Head of the Trench, plainly enough to aſſure me, that it was paſſable; that he believed the Enemies were at Work behind, in throwing up a Retrenchment A Delay in this Caſe, would have been ſo very inconvenient to me, by reaſon of the time I ſhould have given the Enemies, to finiſh their Work, that I forthwith reſolved to attack the Enemies at that inſtant, provided I found the Breach to be as it was deſcribed to me. I was the more inclined to believe it, by being inform'd by all Hands, in the Morning, with the good Effects of the *Royal Battery*,

which

which at every Diſcharge brought prodigious Ruins from the Wall; and, at the worſt, I could not be more aſham'd in retiring, if Things ſhould not appear in the Condition reported, than I had been the Night before.

I immediately ſent for *Levy*, the Major-General, *Canette* and ſome other Officers, that were gone to *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, to diſcover from that Place the Condition of the Town; but hearing a general Alarm beaten, they preſently returned; and being informed what was to be done, every one of them ran to give the neceſſary Orders to what belonged to him. The Troops at work in the Woods, being called by the Drums, inſtantly came to their Arms, and put themſelves into order; there was only a ſmall Body in the Trench, that were not exactly placed where they were to be; but the Major-General diſpoſed of them with all Expedition: At which time *Neſmond*, *Poullermont*, *La Lind*, *Du Che*, and *Rochebonne*, who (as I ſaid before) choſe rather to ſerve as my *Aids de Camps*, than to be employed in any other Service, not knowing but that the Troops were in perfect order, came to acquaint me, that every thing was ready, and that they waited for my Orders to march: I gave it, imagining like the reſt, that all the Wall was fallen.

The Order was immediately carried by my *Aids de Camp*; who having all undertaken to deliver it, took that occaſion to run to the head of the Trench, *De Tilleul* only, that could not be any where elſe, was with me; *Du Caſſe* was on his Day in the Trench; but *Levy* being the eldeſt of all, and this Action being regarded as a General Affair, by reaſon all were employed in it, put himſelf at the Head and gave the Motion to the Troops to begin, at the moment he received the Order; which was

as

as ſuddenly executed, as it was ſpeedily carried.

What ought to have been a great Advantage, had like to have caus'd a great Inconveniency; the Officers, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances that had been made them, upon the neceſſity of each of them being at his Poſt, to ſee the Troops perform their Duty; carried on by their Courage, the greateſt part of them advanced before the Troops, and aſſaulted the Breach with Sword in Hand, without obſerving how they were followed; and the Troops unprovided of Leaders, did indeed march on, but ſlower than the ſafety of their Officers required, who remained for a conſiderable time expos'd upon the Breach which they had gain'd. We were all deceived in our Reckoning, for it was the ſteepeſt Way imaginable: The Grenadiers who were order'd not to fire, could not abſtain from it, when they came to be expos'd out of the Trench, and to ſuffer the Fire of the Ramparts; but the Time they employ'd to re-charge, detaining them in the way between the Trench and the Breach, was the Reaſon of their Officers being alone at the Top: *Levy* repaired the Inconveniency of this Accident ſo ſoon as it was poſſible, by haſtening on the Troops, as likewiſe by his Words and his Actions. In the mean time, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, who had firſt mounted, was in an Inſtant join'd by *Gougon*, *Jaucourt*, and *Marolles*, whoſe Battalion was on the Trench-Guard: *Daye*, *Vignancourt*, *Montroſier*, *Du Rollin*, *Vanjoux*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Fouilleuſe*, and my *Aids de Camp:* They endeavour d to maintain themſelves, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the Enemy, who were attacked at the Time they leaſt expected it; yet not bring diſmayed, they attempted to drive us off with Sword and Pike. *Marolles* and *Du Roullon*, were already mortally wounded; and upon the Ground; *Fouilleuſſe* had his Leg broke,

*Gurgon*,

*Gougon*, *Montroſier*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Daye*, and *Mouſſac*, were all wounded; ſome ſhot, others hurt with Pikes; ſome of them had ſeveral Wounds, as *Montroſier*, and *Vaujoux*; when at length *Levy*, and the Grenadiers came to their Aſſiſtance, and repuls'd the Enemy; who rallying nevertheleſs at the End of the Streets, were ſeveral times charg'd before they could be driven off. *Du Caſſe*, not ſo nimble as the reſt, altho' the firſt at the Foot of the Bridge, maugre all his Goodwill, had ſo much Trouble to climb it, that he was out of Breath by that time he got to the top, where he thought he ſhould never recover his Wind. He was follow'd by fifteen or twenty Voluntiers, Inhabitants of the Coaſt, who did very good Service; for firing upon ſuch of the Enemies as were yet upon the Ramparts, behind two little Flankers that fir'd upon the Bridge, and very much annoy'd our Troops; they at length oblig'd them to follow thoſe that were driven from the Platform, where the Breach ended; the Major-General, who at the Bottom of the Breach was wounded by a Muſquet Ball in the Neck, followed by *Baraudin*, one of his Aids, and *Frankin*, Captain of the Grenadiers with his Arm broken, notwithſtanding mounted the Breach together; but the Captain's Strength failing, ſo ſoon as he was up, he was forc'd to be brought off, for the ſame Reaſon the Major- General was not able to make a longer Stay.

All the Troops, defiling in the mean Time one from another, I found myſelf at laſt rid of all Uneaſineſs for the Succeſs of an Action, that may, with Modeſty, be term'd very bold, and very extraordinary for Seafaring Men.

A Party of the Negroes of *Pally*, who conducted them, in defiling off to the Ramparts on the left, puſhed the Enemy from Baſtion to Baſtion, unto the

the Cauſey that divides this Part of the City, particularly called *Hibimani*, from the other call'd by the general Name of *Carthagena*; but the *Buccaniers* to exempt themſelves from the Attack of the Breach, had conſulted the Matter upon the Bridge, and the little Cauſeway of *Hibimani*, and reſolved to line the Hedge over-againſt the Ramparts, where they made an extraordinary Fire, not perceiving the Part they choſe out of Fear, was more dangerous than that they endeavour'd to avoid: But by good Fortune for them, the Enemy was driven off from thoſe Ramparts, and thoſe *Indian* Heroes adventur'd to enter, when they thought the Buſineſs was pretty well at an End; yet they were a little miſtaken in this Account: For the Enemy, after having ſtood firm at all the Corners of the Streets, were at length driven to the Cauſey of *Hibimani* towards *Carthagena*, into which they deſigned to retreat, but the Governor, who perhaps feared, that upon opening the Gates we might enter Pell-mell with his People, plainly told them, That he would not let them in, until they had attack'd us in *Hibimani:* So after the Loſs of about 800 Men, urg'd by Neceſſity, and poſſibly the Wine they had drunk, infuſing freſh Courage into them; they got together in a Croud, and with a great Cry came and charged us at the Head of the great Street, which ends at the Cauſey: We had juſt began to caſt up a Retrenchment there, and the Troops not having Time to bring themſelves into Order, ſurpriz'd with this Attack, mov'd a little backwards, to cover themſelves with the Houſes of the Streets which croſs'd that: But while *Levy*, and the Officers, brought them into Order, which was inſtantly done, *Vignancourt*, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, *Gougon*, and *Jaucourt*, with a ſmall Number of Grenadiers, ſuſtain'd this impetuous

petuous Attack; but the Troops being brought back to the Charge, made a very great Slaughter of the Enemies; above one hundred and fifty were found the next Day upon the Cauſey, pierced with Bayonets, beſides thoſe that went off wounded: In this Charge the Viſcount *de Coetlogon* was wounded with a Muſket Ball in his Shoulder, who was come hither from the Battery, accompanied by *De la Motte Michel*, and *De la Motte d'Heran*; his Wound did not at firſt appear to be conſiderable, but by weakning of him, it contributed to his Death, caus'd by a malignant Fever; and here the Chevalier *de Pointis*, after having paſſed through ſo many Dangers, to which he expos'd himſelf, received the Wound he died of, the Marquis *De Boury* was at this Time likewiſe hurt in his Face, *St. Amant* on the Side, and many other Officers received Contuſions.

The Enemy being drove back again were received by a little Port into *Carthagena*; we applied our ſelves in *Hibimani*, to making of Retrenchments at all the Avenues, to ſecure us from Surprizes, and to permit our Troops to paſs the Night quietly, in the convenient Lodgings of a handſome City, the Fire of the Enemies Cannon killed ſome Men in this Work, that were commanded by the Chevalier *de la Ferriere*, *du Creſt*, and *Courſy*, under the direction of *Canette*; about ten at Night all was in good order.

In this Action I loſt about ſixty Men, and had more than that number wounded, without comprehending the Officers beforementioned.

It was reſolved to reſt the Troops, the next Day being the firſt of *May*, and to work only upon the opening of the Gate, and repairing of the Bridge for the paſſage of the great Cannon, with which

which we deſigned to beat down the Rampart we had to paſs, before we could enter into the other part of the City. *Canette* went in the Morning early, to view the places of Battery that were to be rais'd, and having ſhew'd them to me in the Evening, I found them ſo near the Wall, that I did not doubt making a very conſiderable Breach in a very little time; this whole Cauſey, and that part of the Marſh which divides *Carthagena*, are not a Muſket-ſhot over.

This Day I ſent on Board the *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, and the *Vermandois*, a part of the Detachment of Seamen, called Scythemen, by reaſon of the ſmall Scythes fix'd upon Staffs, which they had for their Arms; I ordered theſe Ships to endeavour again the next Day, to ruin the Defences of a Baſtion that could hurt us more than the others. About three o'Clock, on the Second, they began to Cannonade; in the mean time we put all things into a readineſs, towards the bringing of the great Cannon into *Hibimani*; this Cannonading continu'd until Six; when at the ſight of four white Flags flying, two on *Hibimani* ſide, and the others towards the Sea, I ordered the Ships to forbear firing, until I knew the Intentions of the Beſieged. They told *Du Caſſe*, who by the means of a little *Spaniſh* run himſelf into all things, that they were willing to capitulate upon honourable Terms. I ſent them word, that before I entered upon it, I expected Hoſtages that very moment, without giving any other Aſſurance than my Parole, to return them the next Day, in caſe we did not agree upon Terms. This hard Condition was accepted; which plainly ſhewed me, that the Enemies were ſtraiten'd. In ſhort, the Precedent of *Hibimani* terrified them, and the Bombs permitted them no manner of reſt; ſo they brought me two of the

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moſt conſiderable Men amongſt them. At this inſtant I received Advice from two places of 1000, or 1200 Men, being upon their March to throw themſelves into *Carthagena*: An *Indian* was the firſt that brought me this Account; which was afterwards confirmed to me, by a Letter from a Lieutenant at *Boccachica*; who ſeeking for freſh Proviſions in the Country, had been beſieged in one of the Houſes of Don *Sanchez Ximenez*, defended by his People againſt a ſmall Detachment of that Body on their March. That he had been among the Troops; who knowing that we poſſeſs'd the common Highway, did deſign to go round the great Lake, and paſſing afterwards through By-ways into the little Lakes that lie about *Carthagena*, to go on a long the Sea-ſide, and get into the City by the Baſtions of St. *Catherine*. I immediately ordered aſhore all the Scythemen, and Seamen, that could poſſibly be ſpared, who were alſo provided with Arms; theſe were ſet to guard the Batteries, for all the Artillery was as yet there: I detach'd *Du Caſſe* with 500 *Buccaniers*, and a Battalion of 300 Soldiers, to ſtop the paſſage of theſe Succours; he poſted himſelf amongſt the little Lakes where the Enemies would be obliged to come; and the advantage of the place wherein he was poſted, enabled him to have given a very good Account of them. The next Day I ſent *Daunou* with a leſs number, being informed it would be ſufficient to repel the Succours, in caſe it ſhould be attempted; but they did not appear, neither did I ever know the Reaſons of it.

In the mean time we were employed upon the Capitulation. *Du Caſſe*, ever an importunate Advocate for the *Spaniards*, continually tormented me, to mitigate the Conditions I impos'd upon them;

them; but being not only charged with the ſupport of the Honour due to his Majeſty's Arms, but having likewiſe my Undertakers Intereſts to manage, I ſtood firm to my Demands, altho' an Infinite number of Reaſons might have occaſion'd me to be more impatient than any Body elſe, to have this Affair determined. At length I propoſed to the Governor, the honourable Articles of paſſing out through the Breach, with all thoſe carrying Arms, Drums beating, to take four Pieces of Cannon; and as to the reſt, it was agreed, that all the Silver, without Exception, or Reſerve, in favour of whomſoever it might be, ſhould belong to me, that the Effects of all ſuch as went out, or were abſent, of whatſoever Nature the ſaid Effects were, ſhould devolve to me; that ſuch of the Inhabitants as would continue in the place, excepting their Plate, ſhould enjoy all their Poſſeſſions and Privileges, and for the future be regarded as the King's Subjects, being they were ſo by Conqueſt: And farther, that all the Churches and Convents ſhould be preſerved.

This matter agreed on, I demanded until ſuch time as the Governor march'd out, which could not be in ſome Days, that they ſhould deliver me up one of the Gates, which they did, and I ordered the Grenadiers to it. I had regulated what every Man, according to his Condition, was to carry out with him in Silver for their Subſiſtance; to which, that I might not be impoſed upon, I had added this Condition, that I reſerved to my ſelf the Liberty of ſearching the Men and Baggage at the Gate. The Governor ſent to deſire I would permit, out of Courteſie, (which was the Expreſſion) the principal Officers, and ſome other conſiderable Perſons that I permitted to follow him, the double of what was ſtipulated. This amounted unto

unto 2000 Crowns a Head; but theſe being a ſmall Number, acquieſced to it, and was convinc'd by the Fervency of their Acknowlegements, that it was really neceſſary to them.

It was of great Conſequence to me, that thoſe who were allow'd to retire where they pleas'd, after the Garriſon was march'd out, ſhould remain until they were obliged to reveal what Sums they had in their Houſes; therefore I was very exact in my Meaſures, that no Body might eſcape: In the mean time ſeveral Officers went freely up and down the City; and *Du Caſſe*, whom I had declared Governor, that they might believe I deſigned to keep the City, took upon him to deliver to ſome People Certificates, that were not Paſs-ports, yet had ſome Reſemblance to them, by which thoſe People paſſed the Gates, the Officers on the Guard believing it was my Order. I do believe he had no ill Intention in it, and I did attribute that Manner of acting to the Kindneſs he ever affected to ſhew to the *Spaniards*; yet common Report did not forbear ſaying, that he got conſiderable Sums; which I did not believe. However, I would not have it thought, that I tolerated his Conduct; therefore I forbid him the Continuance of it: And this Order ſo much diſpleas'd him, that he never came afterwards to me.

The Governor delay'd his Departure all that he could; but at length I acquainted him, That he muſt poſitively march out upon the Sixth, and that on the ſame Day I would enter at the Head of the Troops; which was accordingly executed. The Count *Ugnez de los Rois*, follow'd with his Garriſon, being liſted Men, to the Number of about 2800, march'd out through a Lane of our Soldiers and Seamen, (whom I had order'd on Shoar to enlarge our Number) *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants of the Coaſt, and Negroes. We two were upon our Horſes,

and having ſaluted me with his Sword, after ſome Expreſſions of Civility, he continued his Way with the City Colours, and two of the four Cannon allowed him, not having Equipage convenient for the exporting of the others; even theſe were the ſmalleſt, and drawn by Men.

Theſe People were narrowly ſearch'd as they came out; but when I was informed of their Number, which was almoſt equal to ours; and perceiving that this Search would bring the Night upon us, before we could diſpatch them, I was afraid, leaſt the Danger of loſing a little Money, ſhould occaſion ſome Diſorder when it was dark; ſo I ſent my Orders to the Gates, to haſten their March, without delaying of it by a Search, which produced little; and the Garriſon all marched out before Sunſet. It was not without a great deal of Trouble, that I continued upon my Horſe, to receive the Salute of the Governor; but that being paſſed, I was obliged through the great Pain of my Wound, to get into my Chair, wherein I was uſed to be carried; in this Condition, and in the midſt of the Guards Marine, who were cloathed alike, I went (preceded by a Battalion of Grenadiers) to take Poſſeſſion of the City.

I was well aſſur'd there was Silver, in *Carthagena*; but the Difficulty was how to get it: The worſt that could happen to thoſe in Poſſeſſion of it, was the Loſs of it, when we had diſcover'd it; it was therefore neceſſary to ſearch all the Houſes: But by whom could it be done? With what Surety that the beſt Part ſhould remain undiſcover d? The Number of Officers was not great enough, to diſperſe them into all the neceſſary Places; and if I would not have left any Thing, it muſt have required me above ſix Months Time. In this Perplexity I bethought myſelf of this Expedient: I publickly de-

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clar'd, and order'd it to be ſet up in the principal Places, That I would give the Tenth to the Proprietors, of whatſoever they honeſtly brought me; and a Tenth to them that ſhould inform me, of any Perſons that did not declare their Effects. To theſe Promiſes I joyn'd my Threats of puniſhing them for formal Diſobedience.

The Hopes of preſerving a Part of what was otherwiſe all in Danger to be loſt; the Fear of Neighbours, and ill Friends, who at the ſame time had the Opportunity of profiting and being troubleſome, induc'd them all to be ingenuous in the Matter; which was done with ſo much Forwardneſs, that *Tilleul*, who was charg'd with the Treaſure, was not able to weigh the Silver faſt enough.

The Convents only were of the Opinion, that they were exempted from this Search, under the Article of the Capitulation, that they ſhould be preſerv'd; by this Means they quietly kept both their own Money, and what was truſted to them. I order'd that Article to be explain'd to them, to the End that they might know, that the Preſervation of the Convents, conſiſted, in not permitting them to be deſtroy'd; but as to the Money, I had in formal Terms, reſerv'd that to myſelf: Otherwiſe they might have got together all the Riches of the City into their Houſes, to have depriv'd me of it. Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, ſeveral of them continued ſo obſtinate, and among the reſt, Father *Grenelli* a Jeſuit, the Guardian, and Procurator of *Cordileers*, that I was forced to have them ſecured, and to threaten them with worſe Uſage. The Rector of the Jeſuits obey'd, and brought about twenty thouſand Crowns in Gold, that he found in the Chamber of Father *Grenelli*, and about as much for the whole Houſe beſides; and then deſired, that I would order the Houſe to be every-where viſited,

by

by which Conduct he engaged me to releaſe his Religious. So ſoon as the *Cordeliers* perceived that the *Buccaniers* were brought, who have a particular Talent at diſcovering hidden Treaſures, they proteſted, they were ready to reveal all they had, ſo the *Buccaniers* retired; but when they were gone, the Reverend Fathers fell into their firſt Silence: In ſhort, I reſolv'd to charge the Captains with the care of ſearching the religious Houſes, to the End that their Preſence might preſerve all neceſſary Order and Reſervedneſs. This Search produced enough to make Satisfaction for the Trouble it gave us; and in Regard to the Churches, prevented even the Appearance of the Profanation. After I had ſeverely commanded them not to touch any of the ſacred Veſſels, or any thing appertaining to the Sacrifice, I order'd our Chaplains to gather up what was only for the Decoration of the Churches. Father *Paul*, a *Dominican*, who hath (by I know not what Authority) given himſelf a ſort of a Miſſion among the *Buccaniers*; and uſually living upon the Coaſt had followed the Army, and put himſelf among our Chaplains; aided with a mighty Zeal to execute his Orders, which ſeem'd to him ſufficiently juſt, in relation to the other Convents; but when he was to go to the *Dominicians*, ſupported with the Credit of *Du Caſſe*, he thought to have prevented this Viſit; but ſeeing there was no great Notice taken firſt of his Threats, nor afterwards of his Prayers, was then tranſported with Horrour at the Profanation, and came running to pronounce upon me, from God Almighty, the Anger of Heaven; yet they did not forbear going on with the Buſineſs.

Altho' the Silver was brought in great Abundance to the Contadore; that is, the Town-Houſe, where I had my Quarters, yet we did not receive, by much

much, what we might have expected. We had ſcarce got to the Coaſt of St. *Martha*, which I had been told was a Deſert, but they were acquainted with it at *Carthagena*; and being likewiſe inform'd by three ſeveral Expreſſes from the King of *Spain*, of all Particulars, they were amply acquainted with my Project, my Forces, and, in a manner, the Time I ſhould get thither; ſo they begun to ſtir themſelves upon that very Alarm. All the Women of any Quality, with their Jewels, the Nuns, and what was worſt of all, 120 Mules laden with Gold, went out in four Days time; they retired to *Monpos*, a Town forty Leagues from thence; and altho' we had not miſcarried in our firſt Deſcent, to attempt *Noſtre Dame de la Pouppe*, yet we could not have got thither until the greateſt Part of thoſe Treaſures was gone. However, the Honour which his Majeſty's Arms acquir'd in this Occaſion, beſides near upon eight or nine Millions that could not eſcape us, comforted us for the Loſs of the reſt.

There is, in the Year, one intemperate Seaſon, that never miſſes this Part of the *Indian* Coaſt, and it ſeem'd, as if the great Rains, and Thunder, which are the Forerunners of it, had for a time deſiſted, to afford us the Opportunity of taking *Carthagena*; for no ſooner were we in Poſſeſſion of it, but the Air immediately became infected: Eight hundred Men, in ſix Days time, were ſeized with a contagious Diſtemper, of whom the greateſt Part died; and, in a little time, we were ſcarce able to receive into the Hoſpital, which was with much Expedition eſtabliſh'd, the great Number that was brought from all Parts, every Day we were informed of ſome melancholy Example; all Ideas of Triumphs and Treaſures, were effaced by thoſe of Sickneſs and Mortality. In ſhort, if the Diſtemper had continued with this Rigour, I muſt have

have beheld my inevitable Ruin in the faireſt Port of the world, and no Enemy near me; not only have loſt the fruits of all our Labours, but likewiſe the Squadron entruſted to me.

There was a Report ſpread about, the Author of it I did not find out until ſome Days afterwards, that I could not carry back the King's Ships without making uſe of the *Buccaniers*; who being accuſtomed to theſe Climates, were no more infected with the Unhealthineſs of the Air, than the Natives that are very rarely touch'd with it. In this Condition *Du Caſſe*, that concealed his ſpite at *Hibimani*, where he was retired, ſent to me by his Major a Writing, inſinuating, that his Colony was in danger of being deſtroyed, in caſe the Enemies ſhould attempt a Deſcent there, which was no ways to be doubted; that he demanded of me the Forces I had drawn from thence; and in caſe of Refuſal, he thereby made me reſponſible for all Accidents. I anſwered by the ſame way, that his Colony was as much recommended to me, as it had been to him: that concurring to his Sentiments as to that matter, I did conſent, whatſoever Inconveniency might attend the weakening of myſelf by his Departure, that he might return with three parts of his *Buccaniers*, all the Inhabitants, and part of the Negroes; and that what I kept with me would therefore be too inconſiderable for the Coaſt to ſuffer by it: This Anſwer, which I deſigned with Sincerity, happened to be contrary to what he expected; he did not imagine I could have taken that Reſolution, thinking, by the Report ſpread about, to have made me ſo well comprehend the occaſion I ſhould have for the *Buccaniers*, as to have determined myſelf againſt their return; but ſeeing my firmneſs, he begun to be more compliant, and better diſpoſed, without ſpeaking of going away: and thereby plainly

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ſhewed us, what ſort of Intereſt detained him at *Carthagena*. As the Silver was brought in, ſo it was immediately carried on Board the King's Ships; upon which he employ'd *Daunou* to acquaint me, that the *Buccaniers* were diſguſted, that I did not call ſome of them to be Witneſſes of what paſſed at the Contadore; and propoſed to have me admit ſome Body from them. I found ſo much Inſolence in this Propoſition, that I ſuſpected from whence it proceeded: I told *Daunou*, that if he happened to charge himſelf with any more ſuch Commiſſions, I would make him repent it. I was at that inſtant informed, that ſome of the *Buccaniers*, contrary to my Prohibition of pillaging Houſes, had broke through the Roof of a Houſe, and ſtole ſome Merchandizes: I took my Guards, and went through all the Quarters of the City, reſolved to make an Example of thoſe who fell into my Hands; but they were all retired to the Poſts aſſigned them, where they received all the Threats I made them with a moſt profound Submiſſion: Moreover, I was not ſo ill ſerved by my Spies, as not to be informed, that the ſeditious Diſcourſes they ſometimes held, upon the Silver being carried on Board the King's Ships, was inſpired into them, by People wholly abandoned to their own Intereſt, who took all Opportunities to expreſs their own Thoughts with the Tongues of the *Buccaniers*.

I was not ſo much a Stranger to the *Buccaniers* Courage, as to apprehend any manner of Attempt from that part; but a Rumour being underhand whiſper'd, that they had a mind to pillage the Contadore, to ſecure the ſhare they pretended to of the Booty; I was apprehenſive, leaſt they might force me to puniſh them ſo, that I ſhould not be able to expect any farther Service from them, and I might poſſibly have occaſion for their

aſſiſtance on Board the King's Ships, in my return to *France*. Upon this I proceeded upon a Method which ſeemed moſt likely to ſatisfy them, without engaging me to an unbecoming Condeſcenſion: I liberally recompenſed ſuch of the *Buccaniers* as were wounded, and gave more to the lam'd; there being ſo few of the one, or the other, that I could not thereby much prejudice the Intereſts of the Armament; I ordered very conſiderable Gratifications to their Captains, and ſome others that had diſtinguiſhed themſelves; I thought by the kindneſs I ſhewed to *Du Caſſe*, and his Adherents, which were ſo exceſſive, that I am aſhamed to own it; I thought, I ſay, to have engaged them to have made no farther Pretenſions; but I was ſurpriz'd to find, that by his Calculation of the eight Millions, he reckoned two of them belong'd to the *Buccaniers*; and of theſe two Millions, he eſteem'd himſelf ſure of one; for he ſhares with them as Captain General, as firſt Captain of each Frigat, as Proprietor of the Frigats of which he lends ſome to them, and lets them have others belonging to the King, which with divers Pretexts he detains upon the Coaſts, at exorbitant Intereſt. When I was made acquainted with the Particulars, I reſolved with my Authority and Diligence to extricate myſelf out of this Affair: but this Diligence was the difficult matter, a great part of the Equipage neceſſary in a Siege, which we had brought from the Fleet, was yet aſhore, the Diſtempers deprived me of half my Men, and I had ſcarce got on board half of the Silver. The Braſs Cannons of *Carthagena* were yet on the Ramparts; I entreated the *Buccaniers* to undertake this Work, which they refus'd, and I was informed they had not only reſolved not to work, but neither to make Watch or Ward until they were put into poſſeſſion of their Share of the Booty. I ſhew'd no Concern at this time, but prevailing

vailing by dint of Money upon the ſmall number I had in a condition of working, to uſe their utmoſt Efforts, I got on board my Squadron all the Cannon of *Carthagena*, all that remained of what was brought on Shore; and part of the Baſtions being already thrown down, on the 25th of *May* the Powder was put to the other Mines; I re-embark'd all my Troops and myſelf, leaving *Du Caſſe*, his Officers, and *Buccaniers*, in the City; I acquainted both the one and the other, that if they pillaged the leaſt of the Houſes I had mark'd, I would inſtantly fire their Frigates: They were too well laden to ſuffer them to be expoſed to the Effects of my Threats, for having reſolved not to bring any Merchandizes on board the King's Ships, that I might be in a better condition of Defence, I did permit the *Buccaniers* to take what belonged not to the Inhabitants that remained in the Town. *Du Caſſe* wrote me word that he would anſwer for the Obedience of the *Buccaniers*; adding withal, that if their conduct was any ways to be blamed, it proceeded from the Severity which was uſed to them, in not letting them know what they were to expect of the Booty. He might have ſaid with more truth, that it was his own Inquietude; and in reality for ſome days paſt he had continually complained againſt the embarking of all the Silver, which he ſaid they could not tell how to get from the King's Ships; but yet that he could not believe I would deprive him of any thing that ſo juſtly belonged to him, having engaged myſelf by Writing to let the *Buccaniers* divide Man for Man with the Seamen of the King's Ships. He had a great deal of Reaſon to inſiſt upon this Writing, which was what I ever deſigned to have obſerv'd; but when I underſtood that by his calculation two of the eight Millions belonged to him, I was ſurprized at his Meaning, believing him informed, as every body elſe was, that

what appertained to the Seamen of the King's Ships, and conſequently to the *Buccaniers*, whom I had received upon theſe expreſs'd terms, was the Tenth of the firſt Million, and the thirtieth of all the others; which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to grant to the ſaid Men on board his Ships, to excite them to do well, and as a Recompenſe for their Services, as it was explained in the conditions upon which his Majeſty had conſented to this Armament. At length, altho' *Du Tilleul* was Night and Day employed in the Receipt and Embarking of the Silver, and the infinite Particulars appertaining to a great Squadron, had not the time to examine his Books, and conſequently we could not exactly know what Silver there was; yet I ſo preſs'd him to make an Eſtimate of the whole Affair, to ſatisfy *Du Caſſe*, and his Cabal, what did belong to them, that he made out the Account and ſigned it.

Upon the 29th I ſent this Account to *Du Caſſe*, who, upon my reiterated Orders that I had ſent him, was at laſt embark'd with his *Buccaniers*, and come down pretty near to the Fort of *Boccachica*; below which was the whole Squadron, except the *Scepter*, who through the Ignorance of the Pilots, was got between two Banks, upon which ſhe had ſtruck, and had not then got clear of them.

*Du Caſſe* was extreamly ſurpriz'd upon reading of the Account, wherein he ſaw that his, and the *Buccaniers* Share, amounted only to about 40000 Crowns. He reckon'd that the whole would have been divided into four equal Parts, and he being very near a Fourth of the Army, one of theſe Parts would conſequently fall to his Share: But when he opened his Eyes, and ſaw that dividing Man for Man with the King's Ships, ſignified ſharing what appertain'd to the ſaid Ship's Companies, but not what appertained to the King, and the Armatures; and when it appear'd, that the Part of the

Ships

Ship's Companies conſiſted in the Tenth of the firſt Million, and the thirtieth of the others; of which, the fourth that might belong to him, amounted only to 40000 Crowns, he fell into ſuch a Rage, that not conſidering, that the leaving his Government, without a Permiſſion from Court, and upon a particular Intereſt, was by all manner of Laws, a criminal Action; yet he reſolved to ſteer for *France*; probably to demand Juſtice of himſelf, for being miſtaken; for as to any thing elſe, there cannot appear any Pretence of Complaint. I muſt acknowledge I was a long time before I could comprehend, that his Miſapprehenſion ſhould carry him ſo far, as to imagine, that the Credit of ſo many People was uſed, much Addreſs employ'd, great Sums of Money collected and expended, and ſo long a Voyage undertaken, to give the Fourth of what it produced, to the Governor of St. *Domingo*, and a Troop of *Banditti*; who without being at any Charge, and only for about ſix Weeks, at leaſt the greateſt Part of them, idle Spectators of a great Action; methinks Juſtice ſeems ſo repugnant to ſuch a Thought, that *Du Caſſe* cannot be excus'd entertaining it. By allowing a Subſiſtance, and Share, as I did to this Rabble, they received too much Honour, eſpecially being joyn'd in the Diviſion with the Companies of the King's Ships, whoſe continual Service, which they render to the King and the State, ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſh them from that baſe Kind of Life that the others lead. Moreover, I do not ſee what Reply can be made to this Argument: If they are the King's Subjects, they are order'd to ſerve in this Enterprize, upon which his Majeſty did not declare there ſhould be any Diſtinction in Favour of them; according to the Orders, the whole Strength of the Colony was to join the Forces I brought from *France*; and if they did not, I was to treat them as Rebels. And I was much in the Wrong, to aſ-

ſociate

ſociate them to the Conſideration that was promiſed to the King's faithful Subjects.

When I was getting under Sail, to come out of *Carthagena*, I was forc'd to ſet on Fire the Bomb-Galliot, her Maſts and Hulk were ſo ſhatter'd, that ſhe was not in a Condition of going to Sea. I left alſo the *Providence* Brigantine, (of whoſe Company there was not one Man capable of Service) with a *Buccanier*-Captain, until farther Order. The neceſſity I was in, of diſmounting ſome Ship, to afford ſome Aſſiſtance to others, by dividing of her Company amongſt them, had engaged me to fire the *Chriſt* Ship, if *Du Caſſe*, to whom it was neceſſary I ſhould give a Ship, to tranſport his People to the *French* Cape, had not been contented with that; which he arm'd as well as he could, to carry back the *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants, and Negroes, to St. *Domingo*.

On the 30th I was taken ſo very ill with the Diſtemper, that all that I could do, before I fell into a Condition that deprived me of my Intellect, was to acquaint *Levy*, that I committed the Care of the Squadron to him; and that he ſhould ſteer his Courſe for Cape *Tiburon*, according to the Reſolution he knew I had taken, to return thence to *France*, without touching then at *Petit Guaves*, where, as I was inform'd, the Air was not affected leſs than at *Carthagena*, by which the reſt of our Men would have infallibly periſh'd: From that time, I order'd nothing that paſs'd; but the Account that follows, *Levy*, and the Major-General, gave me in Writing, as likewiſe by Word of Mouth.

Upon the laſt of the Month of *May*, compleating the Ruin of the Fort of *Boccachica*, where we had ſome Days been at work, *Daunou* after many fruitleſs Attempts to ſpeak with me, went to them, and acquainted them, that the *Buccaniers* being

being enraged at the ſmall part I gave them of the Booty, had propoſed to board and plunder the *Scepter*; but that afterwards they were come to a Reſolution, to return and plunder *Carthagena*: And in reality, they perceived at that Inſtant, the greateſt part of their Frigates making into the Port, to ſail to it: He ſaid farther, that they had paſſed under the Stern of the *Pontchartrain*, where *Du Caſſe* was on board, to whom they had declared their Deſign; and, that he had exhorted them, not to commit ſuch an Infraction of the Treaty upon which the City ſurrendered; that he had likewiſe ſent his Major to endeavour to diſſwade them from it; that for his own part, it gave him ſo much trouble, that he deſired only a hundred Seamen, with which he ſhould think himſelf ſtrong enough to prevent their Deſigns on the City.

All the Squadron was out at Sea, excepting the *Scepter*, who was ſomething nearer to them; but in ſuch a Condition by reaſon of the Diſtemper among the Seamen, that we were very far from being able to make this Detachment; and altho' they might have been, yet how could it be poſſible, for a hundred Men, ſeveral Hours behind the *Buccaniers*, to prevent them from landing? The ridiculous and true Motive of this Propoſition was palpably apparent; and accordingly *Levy*, and the Major General, expreſs'd their Opinion very freely to *Daunou*, whoſe Paſſion increaſed upon the Contempt they ſhewed him. Yet *Levy*, deſirous to apply all the Remedy that was to be uſed, made all the haſte he could on Board the Frigate of *Macary*, being neareſt the Fort, and longer in getting ready than the other, and by that able to be reached, and by his Authority he made her come to an Anchor again, believing, that afterwards ſhe would not dare but to come out with the *Scepter*; yet this Ship being got through the paſſage, the Frigate

was

was no longer afraid of being ſtopped by her Cannon; *Macary* having for ſome time followed us, ſuddenly tacked about, and ſtood after the reſt of his Companions, after having conferr'd with *Du Caſſe*, with whom he ſtay'd for moſt Part of the Night.

It looks as if *Du Caſſe* was entirely bereft of his Senſe, in more carefully covering his Connivance with the *Buccaniers*, in their violating of an Authentick Capitulation. The *Pontchartrain*, aboard which he was, and the *Malouin* Frigate, that he could have commanded, were both of them among the *Buccaniers* Frigates, when they reſolved upon this Courſe: Why did he not go after them, on all Sides firing on them? yet ſhooting ſo high, or ſo low, as not to do them any Damage? He might have made it to have been believed, that he was no Accomplice in this Perfidiouſneſs, and at the ſame time have juſtified to the World, that it was not by my Orders committed, being it would then have appeared, that it was done by Mutiniers; whereas this ſcandalous Herd being, in Appearance under my Command, as formerly, I am become reſponſible to the King of *Spain*; who might, if I ſhould ever happen to fall into his Power, with ſome Juſtice, uſe me as a Breaker of Treaties: For what appears in Sum of this Action, is a Capitulation manifeſtly broken by the King's Army. It was plain to us, *Du Caſſe* only thought of making the beſt of his Way to get firſt of all into *France*, quitting the Squadron without Leave, and even without the Knowledge of any one, he brought to all the Sails of the *Pontchartrain*, and we heard no more of him until the Fourth of *June*. The Squadron left *Boccachica* the Firſt, after having diſengaged themſelves of the Misfortune which the *Scepter* and *Fort* had, in ſtriking the firſt Night after their coming out, upon two Banks, three

Leagues

Leagues from the Coaſt, whereby they had like to have been loſt. The Squadron after this ſtood for Cape *Tiburon*, when a Veſſel from *Petit Guaves* brought us a Packet; he met *Du Caſſe*, to whom he had likewiſe delivered one, which was a Duplicate of that he had for me: They came from *Robert* Intendant of the Iſles, who had diſpatch'd away a Bark to inform me, That upon the twenty-ſeventh of *April*, thirteen *Engliſh Men of War*, of which eight were capital Ships, were arrived at *Barbadoes*, where there were ſeveral others; that it was not to be doubted but this was the Squadron, (as he had been informed from *France*) that the Enemies was to ſend after me, to prevent the Execution of my Deſigns; that this Squadron was not to make any Stay at *Barbadoes*, upon which I was to take my Meaſures. The Day before I left *France*, I was adviſed, that to whatever Place I went, Admiral *Nevill*, with fifteen *Engliſh* Ships, was to follow me, ſo ſoon as they knew the Courſe I ſteer'd. Theſe Informations concurring with each other, we did not doubt of the Arrival of that Squadron in the *Indian* Seas, as likewiſe that we muſt meet them: For their Courſe, of conſequence, if they were informed at *Jamaica*, of our Succeſs at *Carthagena*, as it was very probable, would be to expect us at Cape *Tiburon*, there not being any Likelihood that we ſhould return to *France*, without paſſing upon that Coaſt to take in freſh Proviſions, and leave the Men I had taken from thence. I was then a little recovered from the Extremity of my Illneſs, and upon this News I held the firſt Council of this Expedition; there was no Diverſity of Opinions, all the Captains agreeing that we ought to ſteer for the Gulf of the Streights of *Bahama*; that we ought to ſupply our Want of Water, by the moſt extraordinary good Management of what we had; that there would be an Opportunity

of taking in more upon the Coaſt of *Accadia*, which was the moſt probable Way of meeting that Enemy, who could not be gone to expect us there, knowing we had a more convenient Paſſage upon many Accounts. Upon this Reſolution we alter'd our Courſe that we were ſteering to *Tiburon*, for that of *Bahama*, which we continued until the Sixth.

It may here be obſerved, how little one ought to depend upon the ſevereſt Reaſons, when Fortune is in the Scale: The Courſe of Cape *Tiburon*, our Ruin, in appearance, was free of all Danger, the Enemy paſſed very wide of it; and the way of *Bahama*, ſo ſure in our Reckoning, carried us into that between *Jamaica* and *Carthagena*, which they then ſteered, and occaſioned us to fall into the middle of them in the Night, between the ſixth and the ſeventh. Some Hours before Day, I was informed, that from time to time, they perceived Fires made in a Ship behind us; this Signal not being to be made by any of ours, we began to believe, it was ſome advanced Frigate of the Enemies, who informed them by her Fires, that ſhe followed us, and that by keeping after her, they could not loſe us. There was then no other Reſolution to be taken, than to wait for the Day; we did not know our ſituation, in relation to that of the Enemies, ſo by any other manner of working, we ſhould have run the ſame Riſque, to have fallen in with them, as to have ſteered clear of them. The firſt appearance of Day preſented us with the Image of an inevitable and diſmal Misfortune; we at firſt reckoned twenty Sail, then twenty five, a little afterwards twenty nine, and among them a Ketch. Eight of theſe Ships ſeemed to be of an equal force to the *Scepter*, ten or twelve others, with the St. *Lewis*, the *Furieux*, and our other Ships of that Rate, the reſt with our Frigates from thirty ſix to forty four Guns; half of this Fleet was to Windward

ward of our Squadron, and wanted but little of Cannon ſhot of us; ſome others were exactly on our Lee; and the reſt, which were the great Ships before-mentioned, were in our Sterns, a little below us.

Our great Misfortune was not only to have eight and twenty Ships againſt our ſeven Ships, and three Frigates; but as an addition, our unfortunate Squadron was ſo ſtrangely weakened by the Mortality, that ſhe was rather a general Hoſpital for the reſt of the Officers and Seamen, inſomuch that when we went to put ourſelves into a condition of making ſome ſort of a reſiſtance, by the paleneſs of our Faces, and the weakneſs of our Motion and Stirring, it look'd as if the Hoſpital of *Paris* was brought under Arms. To give an Idea of the Condition we were in, I need only ſay, that the other Ships were poſſibly in a much worſe Condition than the *Scepter*, who out of her Complement of 700 Men, had not above 350 that were able to take Arms, or work our Artillery. What an alteration for me in particular! My Expedition had acquired ſome Honour to the King's Arms, and would have produced conſiderable Advantages to my Armatures. The taking of *Carthagena* ſeem'd to have acquired me a pleaſing Diſtinction; and being enriched, I had, at my Return, a proſpect of Glory and Pleaſures, all which now paſſed like a ſhadow; and I had continually before my Eyes the deſtruction of a flouriſhing Squadron, which I had the Honour to be entruſted with; the Diſpleaſure of the King and his Miniſters, in the Circumſtances of this Loſs, which not only deprived his Majeſty of ſo many Ships, but ſo much advantag'd his Enemies, and carried them thoſe Riches, that were in a manner ready to have entered *France*; the Grief of my Armatures, for whom all was loſt by this unhappy Re-encounter; and my continual

Deſpair in the Remainder of a Life, which after a long Impriſonment, I muſt have paſſed in Obſcurity, if the Report of my bad Fortune had not rendered me remarkable.

Theſe were my Reflections, when having acquainted all my People that we ought to die like Men of Honour, I had two occaſions of being comforted; the firſt was, the Officers proteſting to me, with an Air of Aſſurance, that the Ships ſhould be defended, whilſt any of them were living; and the Ships Company entered into the ſame Sentiment; inſomuch that the ſick, at leaſt thoſe not at Extremity, ſhewed themſelves as forward as the others; ſo I beheld Reſolution on all ſides of me. The other was, ſo ſoon as the ſignal for the Order of Battle was made, the *St. Lewis*, *Furieux Vermandois*, *St. Michael*, and the *Mutine*, came up ſo faſt, and fell ſo well into their Stations, that they allowed us no occaſion of doubting of their having the ſame Reſolution with ours; the *Fort*, the *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, and *Marin*, did not obey the ſignal, but kept to Windward, where they chanced to be; the Captains of the two laſt were ſick, and I had taken from them the greateſt part of their Men, to ſtrengthen the great Ships, and had deſigned them for Fireſhips; but not having time to fit them up for it, nor to fetch away their ſick, they were become altogether uncapable of any ſervice, ſo I could no ways wonder they did not fall in their ordered Station; as to the *Fort* and the *Apollo*, I was apprehenſive that the firſt had loſt ſo many of her Men, that ſhe was not able to make any ſort of a Fight; the other being her Second, did believe, as it is the cuſtom, that ſhe was not to abandon her Flag, *Du Buiſſon*, by the Death of the Viſcount *Coetlogon*, then carrying the Flag of Rear-Admiral. At this Inſtant one of the Enemies ſhips having fired a Gun upon

upon the Fly-boat, called, *The City of Amſterdam*, who was a good way a-ſtern of us, ſhe ſtruck ſail, and ſurrendered; they found a great many ſick Men on board her, and a very conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion. The only *Traverſier* left me had the ſame Deſtiny with the Fly-boat, with whom ſhe was. But while theſe things paſs'd, we found that half of their Fleet, who in a little time were got within reach of us, were unwilling to engage, until the others to Leeward could come to the Action; yet being unwilling to hand in their ſails to ſtay for the others behind, they kept themſelves in a Line, and permitted us to get before them. We perceived by their working that we were yet to have ſome Hours of Quiet, and none of us being ſtrong enough to ſupport a long Action, we repoſed ourſelves in Expectation of the Event. About Two o' Clock in the Afternoon the Major-General came to me, and told me, there was no farther Hopes of Delays, that the advanced part of the Enemies Fleet was got within Cannon-ſhot, and to Windward of our Squadron, and their great Ships exact a broadſide of our Lee. This being ſo, the Signal general for the Order of Battle was given, without Loſs of Time; I added to it the particular Signal of the *Fort*, to bring her to her Station; but ſhe only did ſo much as was neceſſary to let us know that ſhe knew her ſignal, and then ſtanding to windward, ſhe confirmed me in the Thoughts I had in the Morning.

The Affair was ſufficiently ſerious to keep us attentive: We obſerved firſt of all, that the Ships which might have attack'd us, choſe rather to ſlacken their way, and fell from us; with much regarding of them I was partly of the Opinion, that it was by going larger away than we who kept cloſe to the Wind, that their great ſhips had gained ſo much

much upon us. The fear of deceiving myſelf in this Matter, made me conſult all thoſe that I reckoned able to inform me; and they all being of the ſame Opinion, I eaſily penetrated into the Thoughts of the *Engliſh* Admiral, who reckoned there was no ſafety for me, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of *Bahama*; ſo he propoſed to get ſo much a-head of me, as to hinder my Paſſage; but I perceived at the ſame time that he might be miſtaken in his working; becauſe inſtead of ſailing parallel to the Courſe we ſteer'd, his coming up opened an Angle, which in truth brought him into my Traverſe, but in reality at a greater diſtance than when he was a-ſtern of us; therefore by tacking about I ſhould be at a greater diſtance than I was before; beſides, I was ſure to get ſomething by it.

I was certain, that the Ships which might have attack'd me, durſt not do it, and therefore it would not much trouble me if I did find them in my Paſſage. Upon this I ſent the *Marine* Frigate to order all the Ships of the Squadron to tack about preciſely at the ſhutting in of Night; that I would light no Fires, nor make any ſignal, and that they ſhould go as cloſe haul'd to the Wind as it was poſſible. At the time appointed we went about, but we were too near the Enemy to conceal our working from them; one of their ſmall Frigates being likewiſe got in among us, I was obliged to give him ſome Cannon-ſhot from the *Scepter*, and the *Furieux*, who was ſomething nearer to him; with which he ſtood ſo corrected, that we ſaw him no more afterwards. But the different ſignals which the Enemies Ships made by Fires to each other, aſſured us, that they who were moſt advanced, communicated to them behind what paſs'd, ſo we doubted not of our being followed. However, the next

Day

Day, ſo ſoon as it was light, we found the ſucceſs of our working; for we could only reckon fourteen Ships, who followed us in a Line one after the other, and not ſo nigh by far as the Day before; but at the ſame time we miſs'd the *Fort*, *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, *Marin*, and the *Diep* Fly-boat: We having not heard any Cannon-ſhot, we could not think they were taken, however, it was not until the next Day that I was eaſed of this Apprehenſion, by Report of the *Mutine* that rejoined me, acquainting me, that when ſhe carried the Orders for the Ships to go about, thoſe we miſs'd being conſiderably to windward of us, who had by much the Wind of the Enemies when we tack'd, it was much eaſier for them to get clear, by keeping on their Way, than in following me: *Simonet* added, that the *Fort* had loſt her Fore-top-maſt, but having ſeen all the Enemies Ships ſtanding as we did, at a great diſtance from each other, there was no Reaſon to fear that ours were purſued.

This ſeparation being not to be remedied, my Thoughts were wholly employed to the Preſervation of the reſt of the Squadron, and to make uſe of the advantage I had got; I continu'd the ſame Board, until within twenty Leagues of *Carthagena*, where we were on the 9th of the ſame Month of *June*. In the Evening I made the Signal of holding the contrary Courſe; and when it was quite dark, I acquainted the other Ships, with three Guns, that they were to ſteer Weſt, directly before the Wind: There was then but three of the Enemies Ships that kept within ſight of us, and they were a great way from us; they could not imagine what this Signal mean'd, and ſo kept on the ſame Board. In the mean while, we ran this Night 22 Leagues, and the next Day found ourſelves perfectly out of all Buſineſs on that ſide. But to our

Trouble

Trouble ended, commonly comes another: It was not poſſible for us to reach *Bahama*, by holding through the uſual paſſage, that lies between *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and which is not at all dangerous; but we were oblig'd to take that to the Southward, terrible for the Shelves, among which we were forc'd to paſs, altho' we were altogether ignorant of them; however, ſupplying the want of Experience, with our utmoſt Care and Diligence, we eſcap'd all the Rocks, and having doubled the Cape of *St. Anthony*, found ourſelves on the 26th in the entrance of the Streight of *Bahama*; where we underſtood by a ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſel, who fell into our ſquadron, coming from *Jamaica*, laden with Indigo and Cotton, to the value of about 25000 Crowns, that the *Engliſh* Fleet we had met was commanded by *Nevil*, and was compos'd, at *Barbadoes*, of 13 ſhips that came from *England*, of three that were in the Iſland, and eight *Hollanders*, of which four were very large Ships, and came out of the *Streights*, who made in all 24 Men of War, to whom were belonging four Fire-ſhips, and a Ketch: Which was exactly the Number we had ſeen; their Intention was to have ſtayed 24 Hours only at *Jamaica*, but the contrary Winds had detained them eight Days; that their ſhips were in good Health, but very ill mann'd, the greateſt of them not having above 350 Men, and thoſe of between 50 and 60 Guns, 150 Men: This laſt Circumſtance diminiſh'd the admiration I was in, that none of them who could have attack'd me, had not begun the Fight by engaging of me, until ſuch time as the reſt could get up to them; it may be, they were ignorant of the ill ſtate we were reduc'd to by ſickneſs, or poſſibly they did not give Credit to what they might have known by the *Amſterdam* Flyboat; for the Countenance that we ſhewed them,

them, was no ways anſwerable to what ſhe could have told them.

Having detach'd away the *Mutine*-Frigate for *St. Domingo*, with the Forces, Inhabitants, and Negroes, that were on Board that part of the Squadron then with me, we ſteer'd on our Courſe; nothing material happen'd to us, excepting an Error in our Reckoning: For we were got to the Eaſtward of *Newfoundland*, when we thought we had been to the Weſtward; which oblig'd us to go into *Conception*-Bay for Water, that we deſign'd to have taken at *Placentia*: We came to an Anchor on the Fourth of the Month of *Auguſt*, having only ſix Days Water on Board. The Captain of a ſmall Veſſel coming from *Barbadoes*, which we took on the ſecond Inſtant, did us very good Service in our Anchorage, which we did not know; but this Veſſel which the *Vermandois* mann'd, happen'd to loſe the Squadron in a Miſt; as did alſo another ſmall Veſſel, that we found abandon'd at Sea, upon which we ſent likewiſe ſome Men, and ſince we never heard more of them. The great Want of ſome freſh Proviſions, oblig'd me to ſend the Captain of the Prize, taken at *Bahama*, to propoſe to ſome Fiſher-men, retir'd to the bottom of the Bay, called *La Carbonniere* to ſupply me with what Cattle they could, and to lend me their Boats to take in Water; upon which I promis'd to do them no harm. They anſwer'd me by the ſame Meſſenger, That they had ſcarce any freſh Proviſions; but they would give me what they had, and accommodate me with their Boats; provided, I gave them Hoſtages. The aſſiſtance was not conſiderable enough to accept it upon this Condition; ſo I reſolv'd to burn a dozen, or fourteen, pitiful Houſes that were there, after I had taken in my Water.

In the mean time I was informed by a Priſoner, that there were eight *Engliſh* Men of War at St. *John*'s, eight Leagues from us: ſent thither for the Re-eſtabliſhment of that Colony, ruined by the Governor of *Placentia*; that theſe ſhips, whereof two carried 70 Guns each, and the reſt from 50 to 60, had brought 13 Foot-Companies, commanded by *Gibſon*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Portſmouth*, who were to ſtay there; that *Norris* commanded the Fleet; and that in a Council of War, held at our Arrival, it was reſolved to ſtand out to fight us. This News made us double our Diligence to get in the Water we wanted, and to prepare ourſelves not only to fight the *Engliſh*, but to ſeek them out. To this purpoſe we got under ſail; on the 7th of *Augnſt* we ſtood to *La Carbonniere*, to burn the little Houſes; but the Weather being ſo bad, that we could not get to them without danger, beſides the inconſiderableneſs of the place, rendering this Action not ſufficiently important, to conſume away time upon it, I took the Party to go before St. *John*'s, to attack the Enemies, if they had been out; but apparently, ſome reflection of the Force and Largeneſs of our Ships, had prevented them from coming out, and the Port was ſo ſtreight, as to render any Attempt upon them impracticable; I was contented to ſhew myſelf, and offer them Battle, which ſeeing they did not anſwer, we ſteer'd for the Coaſt of *France*, upon the Eighth of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*; and on the twenty-fourth of the ſaid Month, in the fourth Degree of Latitude, and --- Longitnde, we perceived ſix Ships cruiſing exactly in the Courſe we ſteer'd. Notwithſtanding the Weakneſs to which we were reduc'd, our Ships not having then by much, one half of our Complement of Men, the Number of

the

the Enemies, ſuppoſing they were ſo, did no ways occaſion us to fear meeting them; beſides, this place not being their uſual cruizing ſtation, and on the contrary, very common for the *French* Ships; there was a great deal of Appearance that they were ſuch, and many Conveniencies would attend this joyning; ſo I continued on my Way: But when I came up with them, three of them appeared to be Deck-Ships, the Fourth equall to ours of 64 Guns, a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another ſmall Veſſel, that did not bring herſelf into the Line: whilſt we were conſidering of what Country they were, and had brought ourſelves into Order of Battle, with the Wind upon the Beam, being the ſame Method which they had taken in expecting us, they put forth *Engliſh* Colours, contrary to the Cuſtom of that Nation, they did not fire firſt, altho' we were in leſs than Cannon-ſhot. We put forth our Colours, at the ſame time they ſhewed theirs; and to do them Juſtice, it was impoſſible to make a bolder Working than what they ſhew'd; little did they gueſs the Badneſs of our Condition, nor that the *Scepter*, St. *Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, and St. *Michael*, were reduc'd to the Weakneſs of 40 Gun Frigates, not knowing theſe Circumſtances, it muſt be allowed that they ſhewed a great deal of Reſolution.

We were ſo far advanced, that the Honour of his Majeſty's Arms would not permit us to turn back, but rather to make ourſelves a Paſſage; and moreover, that Attempt which would infallibly have diſcovered our Weakneſs, would as certainly have encouraged the Enemy, upon whom we came within the reach of a Fuſil *Boucanniere*, where we then perceived their Beds and Hammocks to be paſs'd from the Forecaſtle to the Quarter-deck, to cover them from our ſmall Shot; this hindered us

from diſcerning the ſpace between the Forecaſtle and Quarter-deck, and occaſioned us to believe them three-deck Ships; it was eaſy to miſtake them, there being of thoſe great Frigates of 72 Guns, which have that length, width and depth, ſo they wanted only ſome Beams and Planks to unite them; the fourth was ſomething leſs, and about the Strength of the *Furieux*; the fifth a Frigate of 40 Guns; the Commander was in the midſt of his Squadron, and myſelf alſo in the Center of his Majeſty's Ships, both ſides being exactly in a Line, I was only to ſpring my Looſe to come a-broadſide of him, and upon my ſignal the Fire began, which continued from half an hour after Three, until Seven, and with much more Briskneſs on our ſide, than I could have expected from our Weakneſs; the Enemy, altho' better provided, in my Opinion, ſhewed not altogether ſo much, however they kept as cloſe to the Wind as it was poſſible for them.

At the ſame time the Fight began, they ſet their ſails as we did, that is, ſo as to continue on the Courſe upon which we found them, which was North North Weſt, a very contrary Courſe to what I was to ſteer, and from which I could not depart; ſo I went about in our Line of Battle, to leave the Cape to the Eaſt.

In the Execution of this, the Fire was pretty violent on both ſides; but the Enemies, inſtead of going about, continued their Broadſides, which paſs'd in a Moment, and we got far enough not to apprehend any farther Damage. In a very little while afterwards, the Enemies went about likewiſe all at once; yet I was fully perſuaded they would not endeavour to begin the Fight again, by reaſon they continued their lower Sails furl'd as well as we,

who

who wrought with much Trouble through the Want of Hands to repair the Damage we ſuffered in our Sails and Rigging: For as to the Men, there were not aboard the *Scepter* above eleven killed and wounded, and in the other Ships yet leſs in proportion; but the *Vermandois* having loſt her Foretop maſt, I was extreamly troubled, becauſe I did not think her able to get up another; yet ſhe did not only attempt it in the Night, but perfectly accompliſhed it early the next Day.

We continued our Courſe all Night, with an eaſy Sail, and our uſual Lights. The next Day we were in a Condition to have begun again, if the Enemy had followed us; which we doubted of in the Night, as not diſcerning any of their Lights; but it is probable, that they had not leſs work to repair than we had, ſo I preſume they ſpent the Night at work, and the next Day we were almoſt out of ſight.

We had done our Buſineſs, which was to paſs without ſhame: We had no Advantage to expect from a ſecond Engagement; but on the contrary, many Inconveniences, and one almoſt inevitable; which was, that the Squadron would periſh at Sea for want of Proviſions, if any endamaged Ship ſhould conſiderably detain us. Therefore we kept on our way, and the Enemies followed us until the twenty ſixth at Noon, at which time they went about to the other Board.

I cannot refuſe making the Officers and Seamen the Acknowledgments I owe them; for they

they did, in this occaſion, by much go beyond their Strength; and with the Good-will they expreſs, if our Force had been ſomething leſs unequal, the Enemies would have had more trouble to have diſengaged themſelves. We came at laſt into *Breſt*, upon the 29th of *Auguſt*, 1697.

*FINIS.*

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